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ANNEX

ANNEX

Ridley, &c.

REVEREND JOHN WESLEY, *M.A.*

Late FELLOW *of* LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Ætatis 87.

Done from an original Picture of the same Size.

Published at the Conference-Office 14, City-Road, London. — John Jones, Agent.

THE

WORKS

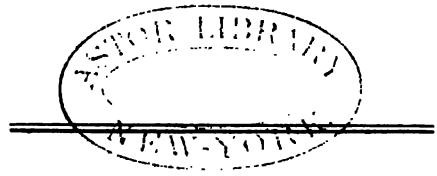
OF THE

REV. JOHN WESLEY.

VOLUME I.

CONTAINING,

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS FAMILY; OF HIS EDUCATION IN THE EARLY PART OF HIS LIFE, AND THE THREE FIRST NUMBERS OF HIS JOURNAL.



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1809.

THE PREFACE.

CONSIDERING how much the Works of the late Rev. JOHN WESLEY have been read, and how well they are known, not only in the Societies of his Connection, but by the more serious part of the Nation at large, it seems quite unnecessary to say much here in commendation of them. The topics which he treats are, in general, among the most important that can possibly come under the consideration of the human race. And his clear and concise manner of treating them is peculiarly calculated to give every attentive Reader the most just and satisfactory views of them in the fewest words, and with the least expense of time and trouble possible. His style, at the same time that it is pure and elegant, is also so luminous and clear, that the Reader must be dull of apprehension indeed, that has need to peruse any one of his sentences or paragraphs twice in order to understand it. And what is a peculiar excellence in many of his Writings, they are addressed not merely to the understanding or judgment of the Reader, but also to his heart and conscience, and are adapted not only to enlarge his knowledge, but also and especially to regulate his life and transform his soul into the Divine image; to make him a better man, and a better Christian.

Having, as early as the year 1725, when he was in the twenty-second year of his age, made a resolution to dedicate

all his life to God, from that period his design in writing, as well as in all his other labours and pursuits, was to glorify God and profit mankind, especially with respect to their best interests. "I have thought," says he, in the preface to his Sermons, "that I am a creature of a day, passing through life as an arrow through the air. I am a spirit come from God, and returning to God: just hovering over the great gulph; till a few moments hence I am no more seen; I drop into an unchangeable eternity." Under a deep sense of these things, it was his continual care to work while it was day, and to serve God and his generation to the uttermost of his power. And on all Divine subjects, that he might neither be misled himself nor mislead others, his care was to keep close to the Holy Scriptures. "I want," says he, in the same place, "to know one thing, the way to heaven, to land safe on that happy shore. God himself has condescended to teach me the way: for this very end he came down from heaven. He hath written it down in a book. O give me that book! At any price give me the Book of God! I sit down alone: only God is here. In his presence I open, I read his book for this end, to find the way to heaven. I lift up my heart to the Father of Lights. I meditate thereon with all the attention and earnestness of which my mind is capable. And what I thus learn, that I teach."

Such was the spirit in which he wrote most or all of his Treatises on Sacred subjects; and especially his Sermons, which, in general, are written with as great energy as clearness, and all with the benevolent design above-mentioned. "I design," says he, "plain truth for plain people. Therefore, of set purpose, I abstain from all nice and philosophical speculations; from all perplexed and intricate reasonings; and, as far as possible, even from the shew of

learning, unless in sometimes citing the Original Scriptures." The thoughts, however, in many of these Sermons, are deep and high, worthy of one who, standing on the verge of time, looked forward into eternity, which he had long and earnestly contemplated.

His Appeals to Men of Reason and Religion have generally been considered as most masterly productions. "They were written," say his biographers, "in the fulness of his heart: while beholding the world *lying in the wicked one*, he wept over it. We could almost venture to assert, that no unprejudiced person can read them without feeling their force, and acknowledging the justice of the observations which they contain." The pious and learned Dr. Doddridge intimates that he read them with great emotion; and tells us, that having gone through them, he wrote on the back, '*How forcible are right words!*' It is certain they have convinced many persons who were before deeply prejudiced, and utterly opposed to the Methodists, and some of these men of considerable learning.

We may give nearly the same character of many of his Controversial Pieces. "They were written as need required: *first*, to preserve those who were in danger of being seduced from the plain Religion of the Bible; and *secondly*, to recover those who had already fallen into the snare." His Treatise on *Original Sin*, is perhaps one of the most laboured of these performances: For he knew and respected the abilities of his oponent, and therefore bestowed much time and attention in a careful investigation of the subject. Whether Dr. Taylor was convinced or not, his esteem was gained; and, as he never would answer Mr. Wesley, so he always spoke of him in terms of great respect.

Indeed it has generally been acknowledged that Mr.

Wesley excelled in Controversy. Few have equalled him either in logical skill, or in moderation and a Christian temper. His opponents could not depart from the question, shift the terms, or use any fallacy, but he readily perceived and exposed it. And as he was attacked from every quarter, there is scarcely any point of divinity which he has not illustrated or confirmed in these occasional publications. His Tracts against Absolute, Unconditional Predestination are well known, and have been the means of convincing many of the error of that hypothesis, and of establishing them in the doctrine of General Redemption, and other topics connected therewith. Of these Tracts, that termed "*Predestination Calmly Considered,*" is certainly of distinguished excellence. "It is a model of controversy," says a writer of his Life, who cannot be suspected of partiality, "clear and cogent; concise and argumentative; and the more convincing, because the spirit in which it is written is as amiable as the reasoning is unanswerable. Perhaps there is not in the English language, a Treatise which contains, in so small a compass, so full and masterly a refutation of the principle he opposes."

His Journal, which, after a concise account of his family and the early part of his life, we first present to our Readers, will, we doubt not, be peculiarly interesting to them. It contains perhaps the best History of his Life and Labours, with the success attending them, which has yet appeared. It is written with great simplicity and clearness, and is an excellent model for that species of writing. It is as entertaining as it is instructive, and cannot fail to please and profit almost every description of persons into whose hands it falls. Although many Editions of the sundry Numbers which it comprises have been sold, the demand for them still continues, and, no doubt, will continue for ages to come.

Upon the whole, to use the words of a writer already quoted, "If usefulness be excellence; if public good ought to be the chief object of attention in public characters; and if the greatest benefactors to mankind are the most estimable, Mr. WESLEY will be long remembered as one of the best of writers, as well as of men, as he was for more than fifty years the most diligent and indefatigable."

But excellent as the works of this eminent writer and most laborious servant of God are, his friends have long had to complain that no uniform and elegant Edition of them could be obtained. Indeed no such Edition had been printed. Many of his writings, like those of the Rev. Mr. Fletcher, before the late Edition in Octavo appeared, had only been published in mere Pamphlets, on very indifferent paper, and with a small type, in order to suit the convenience of such Readers as had not much money to spare for the purchase of books. If it be objected, that an Edition of his Works, prepared by himself, was published near forty years ago in thirty-two volumes, we answer, that impression neither did nor could contain the Sermons, Tracts, and sundry Numbers of his Journal, which were not then composed; and being only in Duodecimo, and but indifferently executed, it is by no means such a Work as Mr. WESLEY'S friends wish to have put into their hands. Besides, while it does not comprehend many of his own original Writings, it includes not a few composed by other Authors, and only abridged or extracted by him, which, however illustrative of his views of the doctrines and duties of Christianity, and well worthy of the attentive considertion of every Reader, cannot with propriety be termed the Works of Mr. WESLEY, and certainly ought not to be comprehended in what is held forth to the Public as an Edition merely of *his* Works. Add to all this, that the impression in thirty-two volumes

has long been out of print, and except that a few odd volumes of it are occasionally to be met with, is, we believe, not to be procured from any bookseller in the Kingdom. The last General Conference, therefore, of the people called Methodists, having taken all these things into consideration, together with the requests of many individuals in different parts of the United Kingdom, have ordered the present Octavo Edition to be prepared for the Press, and published with all convenient speed; and it is not doubted but it will fully answer the expectations of all who respect Mr. WESLEY's memory, while it gives satisfaction to the Subscribers in general.

New Chapel, City-Road,
London, May 8, 1809.

JOSEPH BENSON, *Editor.*

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THE

LIFE AND JOURNAL

OF THE

REV. JOHN WESLEY, A. M.

CHAPTER I.

OF HIS GREAT GRAND-FATHER, AND GRAND-FATHERS, WESLEY AND ANNESLEY.

So far as we can trace back any account of the Family, Mr. Wesley's ancestors appear respectable for learning, conspicuous for piety, and firmly attached to those views of Christianity which they had formed from the Sacred Scriptures. Bartholomew Wesley, his great grand-father, was educated in one of our Universities, and afterwards held the living of Allington in Dorsetshire. When the *Act of Uniformity* took place in 1662, he was ejected from his living, and enrolled on the list of fame with those illustrious names, who chose rather to suffer the loss of all things than violate conscience. While in the university, Mr. Wesley had applied himself to the study of Physic as well as Divinity; a practice which had been frequent, and not then fallen wholly into disuse. He was often consulted as a Physician while he held his living, and after his ejectment applied himself chiefly to the practice of physic, though he still preached occasionally. It is said that he used a peculiar plainness of speech, which hindered him from becoming a popular preacher. He lived several years after he was silenced; but the death of his son, John Wesley, of whom

we shall next speak, affected him so much, that he afterwards declined apace, and did not long survive him. *

JOHN WESLEY, M. A. of New-Inn Hall, Oxford, son of the above-mentioned gentleman, was grand-father of the late Rev. JOHN WESLEY. We have no certain account of the time of his birth, nor of the year when he died. It pleased God to incline him to remember his Creator in the days of his youth, a circumstance which always affords comfort in the future part of life. He had a very humbling sense of sin, and a serious concern for his salvation when a school-boy; and soon after began to keep a diary, in which he recorded the remarkable instances of providential care over him, the method of God's dealings with his soul, and how he found his heart affected under the means of grace, and the occurrences of providence, whether prosperous and pleasing, or afflictive. This method he continued, with very little intermission, to the end of his life. †

During his stay at Oxford, he was taken notice of for his seriousness and diligence. He applied himself particularly to the study of the Oriental languages, in which he made great progress. Dr. John Owen, who was, at that time, Vice-Chancellor, had a great regard for him, which affords strong evidence both of his abilities and piety at this early period of life. He began to preach occasionally at the age of twenty-two, and in May 1658, was sent to preach at Whitchurch in Dorsetshire. Soon after the Restoration, some of his neighbours gave him a great deal of trouble, because he would not read the Common Prayer. They complained of him to the Bishop of Bristol, and laid many heavy things to his charge. Mr. Wesley being informed that the Bishop desired to speak with him, he waited on his Lordship, and has recorded in his diary the conversation that took place on this occasion.

* See Nonconformist's Memorial, Vol. I. p. 441.

† I have taken (says Doctor Whitehead) some pains to discover whether this manuscript be any where preserved; but I have not obtained any satisfactory information concerning it. The extracts from it have been preserved by Calamy.

Mr. Wesley's defence of himself turns chiefly on two points, His allegiance to the King; and, His right to preach the Gospel without being ordained according to the rites of the Established Church. With respect to the first, he solemnly assures the Bishop, that the things alleged against him were either invented or mistaken: that, whatever his bitter enemies might say against him, there were others who would give a different character of him; that Mr. Glisson had done it; and that Sir Francis Fulford, being his hearer, would acquaint his Lordship concerning him: that he did not think the old Non-conformists were his Majesty's enemies; and that he had conscientiously taken the oath of allegiance, and had faithfully kept it.

With respect to the second point, the Bishop informs Mr. Wesley, that if he preached, it must be upon ordination, according to the order of the church of England. Mr. Wesley answers, that, if he meant by ordination the sending spoken of Rom. x. he had it; that he had a mission from God and man; but he was not satisfied in his conscience concerning the ordination in the church of England. As to his abilities, he offers to submit to any examination his Lordship would appoint; to give him a confession of his faith, or to take any other method that might be required. He then states the reasons which satisfied him that he ought to preach. These are, 1. That he was devoted to the service from his infancy. 2. That he was educated for it, at school and in the university. 3. That, as a son of the prophets, after having taken his degrees, he preached in the country, being approved of by judicious, able christians, ministers and others. 4. That it pleased God to seal his labours with success in the conversion of several souls from ignorance and profaneness, to the power of godliness: that such conversions had taken place wherever he had been called to preach; at Radpole, Melcomb, Turnwood, Whitchurch, and at sea. He declares, that if this were not found to be the case upon examination, he was willing to be discharged from his ministry. "I will stand or fall, says he, on the issue thereof." He

adds, 5. That the church seeing the presence of God going along with him, they did, by fasting and prayer, in a day set apart for that end, seek an abundant blessing on his endeavours. "A particular church!" exclaims the Bishop: "Yes, my Lord," says Mr. Wesley, "I am not ashamed to own myself a member of one. Bishop. You have no warrant for your particular churches. Wesley. We have a plain, full, and sufficient rule for Gospel worship in the New Testament, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. B. We have not. W. The practice of the Apostles is a standing rule in those cases which were not extraordinary. B. Not their practice, but their precepts. W. Both practice and precepts. Our duty is not delivered to us in Scripture only by precepts, but by precedents, by promises, by threatenings mixed, not common-place wise. May it please your Lordship, we believe that *cultus non institutus est indebitus*. B. It is false. W. The second commandment speaks the same; Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image. B. That is, forms of your own invention. W. Bishop Andrews taking notice of *non facies tibi*, satisfied me, that we may not worship God but as commanded. B. You take discipline, church-government, and circumstances, for worship. W. You account ceremonies part of worship. B. Well then, you will justify your preaching, will you, without ordination according to law? W. All these things laid together are satisfactory to me for my procedure therein. B. They are not enough. W. There has been more written in proof of the lawfulness of the preaching of gifted persons, with such approbation, than has been answered by any one yet. B. I am glad I heard this from your own mouth. You will stand to your principles, you say? W. I intend it, through the grace of God; and to be faithful to the King's Majesty, however you may deal with me. B. I will not meddle with you. W. Farewell to you, Sir. B. Farewell, good Mr. Wesley."

It is to be hoped that the Bishop was as good as his word. But there were some persons of influence in his neighbour-

hood who were too much his enemies to permit him to continue quietly at Whitchurch, till the act of uniformity ejected him. For in the beginning of 1662, he was seized on the Lord's Day, as he was coming out of church, carried to Blandford, and committed to prison. Sir Gerrard Napper was one of the most furious of his enemies, and the most forward in committing him! but meeting with an accident by which he broke his collar-bone, he was so far softened, that he sent to some persons to bail Mr. Wesley, and told them, if they would not, he would do it himself. How various are the ways by which God brings men to a consciousness of their guilt! Mr. Wesley, however, was set at liberty, though bound over to appear at the next Assizes. He appeared accordingly, and came off much better than he expected. On this occasion the good man recorded in his diary the mercy of God to him, in raising up several friends to own him; inclining a solicitor to plead for him, and restraining the wrath of man, so that the judge, though a very passionate man, spoke not an angry word.

Mr. Wesley came joyfully home from the Assizes, and preached constantly every Lord's Day till August 17, when he delivered his farewell sermon to a weeping audience, from Acts xx. 32. *And now, brethren I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified.* October the 26th, the place was declared vacant by an apparitor, and orders given to sequester the profits; but his people had given him what was due. On the 22d of February, 1663, he quitted Whitchurch, and removed with his family to Melcomb: upon which the corporation made an order against his settlement there, imposing a fine of 20l. upon his landlady, and 5s. per week upon him, to be levied by distress. These violent proceedings forced him to leave the town, and he went to Bridgewater, Ilminster, and Taunton, in which places he met with great kindness and friendship from all the three denominations of Dissenters, and was almost every day em-

ployed in preaching in the several places to which he went; and got many good acquaintance, and friends, who were afterwards very kind to him and his numerous family. At length a gentleman who had a very good house at Preston, two or three miles from Melcomb, gave him free liberty to live in it without paying any rent. Thither he removed his family in the beginning of May, and there he continued as long as he lived. He records his coming to Preston with great wonder and thankfulness.

Soon after this he had some debates in his mind whether he ought not to remove beyond sea, to Surinam or Maryland; but after much consideration and advice, he determined to take his lot in his native country. He had some scruples also about attending public worship in the Established Church; but by several arguments in Mr. Nye's papers, he determined to do it. After some time he was called by a number of serious christians at Pool to be their pastor; and in that relation he continued to the day of his death, administering all ordinances to them as opportunity offered. By the Oxford Act he was obliged for a while to withdraw from Preston, and leave his family and people. But he preached wherever he came, if he could but have an audience. Upon his coming to the place of his retirement in March 1666, he put this question to himself, "What dost thou here, at such a distance from church, wife, children?" &c. And in his answer, sets down the oath required by Government, and then adds the reasons why he could not take it as several ministers had done; and particularly, that to do it in his own private sense, would be but juggling with God, with the King, and with Conscience. But after all this and a good deal more against taking the oath, he thankfully mentions the goodness of God in so over-ruling the law-makers, that they did not send the ministers farther from their friends and flocks; and that they had so much time to prepare for their removal, and had liberty to pass on the road to any place. After he had lain hid for some time, he ventured home again, and returned to his labour among his people and among others occasionally. But notwithstanding all his

prudence in managing his meetings, he was often disturbed; several times apprehended, and four times imprisoned; once at Pool, for half a year, and once at Dorchester, for three months: the other confinements were shorter. He was in many straits and difficulties, but wonderfully supported and comforted, and many times very seasonably and surprisingly delivered. The removal of many eminent christians into another world, who were his intimate acquaintance and kind friends; the great decay of serious religion among many that made a profession, and the encreasing rage of the enemies of real godliness, manifestly sunk his spirits. "And "having filled up his part of what is behind of the afflic- "tions of Christ in his flesh, for his body's sake, which is "the church, and finished the work given him to do, he "was taken * out of this vale of tears to that world where "the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest, "when he had not been much longer an inhabitant here be- "low than his blessed Master, whom he served with his "whole heart, according to the best light he had. The vi- "car of Preston would not suffer him to be buried in the "church. †"

There are several things in this account of Mr. Wesley which deserve the reader's notice. 1. He appears to have made himself master of the controverted points in which he differed from those of the established church, and to have taken up his opinions from a conviction of their truth. 2. He shewed an ingenuous mind, free from low cunning, in an open avowal of his sentiments to the Bishop. 3. He appears to have been remarkably conscientious in all his conduct, and a zealous promoter of genuine piety, both in himself and others. 4. He discovered great firmness of mind, and an unshaken attachment to his principles, in the midst of the most unchristian persecution, and a train of accumulated evils which he suffered on that account. These are prominent features in his character, and which we cannot but admire, however we may differ from him in opinion; they shew a mind elevated far above the common level, even

* It is conjectured that he died about the year 1670.

† See the Nonconformist's Memorial, Vol. I. p. 478, to 486.

of those who have had the advantages of an academical education.

SAMUEL ANNESLEY, L. L D. grandfather of the late Mr. Wesley, by the mother's side, was born of religious parents, at Killingworth near Warwick, in the year 1620, and was their only child. It has been said, that he was first cousin to the Earl of Anglesey. His grandmother, an eminently pious woman, dying before his birth, desired the child, if a boy, might be called Samuel; assigning as the reason of her request, "I can say I have asked him of the Lord." In his infancy he was strongly impressed with the thoughts of being a minister, for which his parents intended him from his birth; and such was the ardour of his mind in pursuing his design, that when about five or six years old, he began a practice, which he afterwards continued, of reading twenty chapters every day in the Bible. The continuance of this practice laid an excellent foundation of useful knowledge, for the future exercise of his ministry. He who studies the Scriptures well, and believes them to be, not merely a sufficient, but the *only* safe rule of faith and practice, will generally exhibit a more uniform character as a minister of the Gospel, than he who takes his religious opinions from the subtle reasonings and systems of men. This observation was admirably illustrated and confirmed by the steady uniform conduct of Dr. Annesley, through some of the most trying situations in which his principles were put to the test.

He lost his father when four years old; but his pious mother took great care of his education; nor did he want the means of obtaining the best instruction, as the paternal estate was considerable. Though a child when he first formed his resolution concerning the ministry, yet he never varied from his purpose; nor was he discouraged by an affecting dream, in which he thought that he was a minister, and sent for by the Bishop of London, to be burnt as a martyr. At the age of fifteen he went to the university of Oxford, and took his degrees in the usual course. His piety and diligence at Oxford, were so much out of the common way of the place, that he attracted considerable notice. In 1644 he was or-

dained as chaplain in the ship called the Globe, under the Earl of Warwick, then Lord High Admiral of England. He went to sea with the fleet, and kept a diary of their voyage. But having no great liking to a sea-faring life, he soon quitted it, and settled at Cliff in Kent, where at first he met with a storm more violent than any he had experienced at sea. The minister of this place had been turned out for his barefaced encouragement of licentiousness, as Dr. Williams reports, by attending the meetings of the people for dancing, drinking, and merriment, on the Lord's day. The people on this account were exceedingly fond of him, and greatly prejudiced against his successor, Dr. Annesley, who was a man of a very different character. When he first went among them, they rose upon him with spits, forks, and stones, threatening to destroy him. This was no small trial to a young man of about twenty-five years of age. But he remained firm as a rock in his Master's cause, and as the people were not hardened against the evidence of gospel truth, he had some hopes of doing them good, notwithstanding their profaneness and violence. He therefore told them, that, "Let them use him as they would, he was resolved to continue with them, till God had prepared them by his ministry to entertain a better, who should succeed him: but solemnly declared, that when they became so prepared, he would leave the place." His labours were incessant, and the success of his preaching and engaging behaviour was surprising; so that in a few years the people were greatly reformed, and became exceedingly fond of him. Though he enjoyed here an income of four hundred pounds *per annum*, yet he paid so conscientious a regard to his first declaration, that he thought himself bound to leave them; which he accordingly did, and the people, who at his coming threatened to stone him, now parted with him with cries and tears, testifying their affection for him.

A very signal providence directed him to a settlement in London in 1652, by the unanimous choice of the inhabitants of the parish of St. John the Apostle. Soon after he was made Lecturer of St. Paul's, and in 1658, Cripplegate was made happy by his settlement there.

He was a man of great uprightness, never regulating his religious profession by his secular interests. He was turned out of his Lecture because he would not comply with some things which he deemed extravagant and wrong: he thought conformity in him would be a sin, and he chose to quit a full maintenance, rather than injure his conscience. He was acknowledged by all parties to be an *Israelite indeed*, and yet he suffered much for Nonconformity; but such was the spirit of party, that an *angel* from heaven would have been persecuted and abused, if he had been a Dissenter. In his sufferings God often appeared remarkably for him; one person died while signing a warrant to apprehend him. He afterwards suffered, because he thought it his duty to bear witness for the old truth against *Antinomianism*. His integrity made him a stranger to all tricks or little artifices to serve his temporal interest; and his charitable and unsuspecting temper sometimes gave those who practised them, an opportunity to impose upon him.

In ministerial labours he was abundant. Before he was silenced, he often preached three times a day; during the troubles almost every day; afterwards twice every Lord's day. His sermons were not raw and uninteresting, but instructive and affecting; and his manner of delivery very peculiarly expressed his heartiness in the things he spoke.

His care and labour extended to every place where he might be useful. In some measure the care of all the churches was upon him. When any place wanted a minister, he used his endeavours to procure one for them: when any minister was oppressed by poverty, he soon employed himself for his relief. "O! how many places," says Dr. Williams, "had sat in darkness; how many ministers had been starved, if Dr. Annesley had died thirty years since!" He was the chief, often the sole instrument in the education, as well as the subsistence of several ministers. The sick, the widows, he orphans, whom he relieved, were innumerable. As a minister, his usefulness was extensive, and God kept him faithful in his work to the last, for which he thus thanked God on his death-bed: "Blessed be God, I can say, I have been faithful in the ministry above fifty-five years."

Many called him father, as the instrument of their conversion; and many called him a comforter.

He had uninterrupted peace, and an assurance of God's love and favour, for above thirty years of the latter part of his life. This assurance had not one cloud in all his last sickness. A little before his departure, his desire of death appeared strong, and his soul was filled with the foretaste of glory. He often said, "Come, my dearest JESUS, the nearer the more precious, the more welcome." Another time his joy was so great, that in an ecstacy he cried out, "I cannot contain it: what manner of love is this to a poor worm? I cannot express the thousandth part of what praise is due to Thee! We know not what we do when we offer at praising God for his mercies. It is but little I can give thee, but, Lord help me to give thee my all. I will die praising thee, and rejoice that others can praise thee better. I shall be satisfied with thy likeness; satisfied! satisfied! Oh! my dearest JESUS, I come!" Thus died this excellent man, December 31, 1696, in the 77th year of his age, and left us an example how to live, and how to die.

Dr. Annesley had naturally a strong robust constitution, which enabled him to undergo great labour and fatigue. He was seldom sick, and could endure the coldest weather without hat, gloves, or fire. For many years he scarcely ever drank any thing but water, and even to his last sickness, his sight continued so strong, that he could read the smallest print without spectacles. His piety, diligence, and zeal, made him highly esteemed by the Dissenters. He assisted at the first public ordination they had, after the *Act of Uniformity*, when Dr. Calamy, and six others, were ordained in the Dissenting place of worship in Little St. Hellen's, in 1694. *

* See Nonconformist's Memorial, Vol. ii. p. 238. For the account of Dr. Annesley, see the Funeral Sermon Dr. Williams preached for him; and Nonconformist's Memorial, Vol. I. p. 104.

CHAPTER II.

OF HIS PARENTS AND SISTERS.

SECTION I.

OF THE REV. SAMUEL WESLEY, SENIOR.

MR. JOHN WESLEY, of whom I have spoken before, left two sons, Matthew and Samuel; of the rest of the children we know nothing. As the family had been greatly reduced by persecution, these two brothers must have experienced some difficulties in their education. Their mother was niece to Dr. Thomas Fuller; but it does not appear that they received any assistance from this branch of the family. By industry they surmounted every difficulty that lay before them, and rose to very respectable and useful situations in life. Matthew Wesley, following the example of his grandfather, studied Physic, and afterwards made a fortune by his practice.* Samuel, the father of the late Mr. John Wesley, was born about the year 1662, or perhaps a little earlier; but he could not, I think, have been more than eight or nine years old when his father died. The first thing that shook his attachment to Dissenters was, a defence of the death of King Charles the First, and the proceedings of the Calve's Head club.† These things shocked him; and though it is certain that the Dissenters in general disapproved of the King's death, and that the proceedings of a club ought not to be attributed to a large body of men, who had no connection with the members of it, and differed greatly in opinion from them; yet they had such an effect on his mind,

* We shall afterwards see some verses on the death of this gentleman by his niece, Mrs. Wright.

† Notes of Samuel Wesley to his elegy on his father. For this, and some other original papers, of great use in this work, Dr. Whitehead was indebted to a private friend.

that he separated himself from the dissenting interest *while yet a boy*, as appears from the following lines in his son's elegy upon him:

> " With op'ning life his early worth began,
> The BOY misleads not, but foreshews the MAN.
> Directed wrong, though first he miss'd his way,
> Train'd to mistake, and disciplin'd to stray:
> Not long—for reason gilded error's night,
> And doubts well founded shot a gleam of light."

He spent some time at a private academy before he went to the university; but where, it is not said. About the age of sixteen he walked to Oxford, and entered himself of Exeter College. He had now only two pounds sixteen shillings; and no prospect of future supplies, but from his own exertions. By industry, I suppose by assisting the younger students, and instructing any who chose to employ him, he supported himself till he took his Bachelor's degree, without any preferment or assistance from his friends, except five shillings. This circumstance does him great honour, and shews him to have been a young man of wonderful diligence and resolution. Many feel his difficulties, but few are capable of his vigorous and continued exertions to overcome them in so honourable a way, and with such success. He now came to London, having increased his little stock to ten pounds fifteen shillings. He was ordained Deacon, and obtained a curacy, which he held one year, when he was appointed chaplain on board the fleet. This situation he held one year only, and then returned to London, and served a cure for two years. During this time he married, and his wife brought him a son. In this period he wrote several pieces, which brought him into notice and esteem, and a small living was given him in the country. We are not certain whether it was during his residence here, or while he was chaplain on board the fleet, that the following circumstance happened, but I suppose the latter. He was strongly solicited by the friends of King James II. to support the measures of the court in favour of Popery, with promises of preferment if he would comply with the King's desire. But

he absolutely refused to read the King's declaration; and though surrounded with courtiers, soldiers, and informers, he preached a bold and pointed discourse against it, from Daniel iii. 17, 18. *If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thy hand, O King. But if not, be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.* His son Samuel describes this circumstance in the following lines of the poem entitled *The Parish Priest*, intended as a description of his father's character.

" When zealous James unhappy sought the way
To' establish Rome by arbitrary sway;
In vain were bribes shower'd by the guilty crown,
He sought no favour, as he fear'd no frown;
Secure in faith, exempt from worldly views,
He dar'd the declaration to refuse:
Then from the sacred pulpit boldly shew'd
The dauntless Hebrews, true to Israel's God,
Who spake, regardless of their King's commands,
' The God we serve can save us from thy hands;
' If not, O Monarch, know we choose to die,
' Thy gods alike, and threatenings we defy;
' No power on earth our faith has e'er controll'd,
' We scorn to worship idols, though of gold.'
Resistless truth damp'd all the audience round;
The base informer sicken'd at the sound;
Attentive courtiers conscious stood amazed,
And soldiers silent trembled as they gaz'd.
No smallest murmur of distaste arose,
Abash'd and vanquish'd seem'd the church's foes.
So when like zeal their bosoms did inspire,
The Jewish martyrs walk'd unhurt in fire."

In this noble instance of integrity and firmness of mind, Mr. Wesley has given us an unequivocal proof that a person of high-church principles may be a true friend to the protestant cause, and the liberty of the subject. It is evident that he as much disliked the arbitrary proceedings of King James, as the religion which he endeavoured to introduce. When the glorious Revolution took place in 1688, Mr. Wesley most cordially approved of it, and was the first

who wrote in defence of it. This work he dedicated to Queen Mary,* who, in consequence of it, gave him the living of Epworth in Lincolnshire, about the year 1693; and in 1723 he was presented to the living of Wroote in the same county, in addition to Epworth.

Mr. Wesley held the living of Epworth upwards of forty years. His abilities would have done him credit in a more conspicuous situation; and had Queen Mary lived much longer, it is probable that he would not have spent so great a part of his life in such an obscure corner of the kingdom. In the beginning of the year 1705, he printed a poem on the battle of Blenheim, which happened the year before, with which the Duke of Marlborough was so well pleased, that he made him chaplain to Colonel Lapelle's regiment, which was to stay in England some time. In consequence of the same poem, a noble lord sent for him to London, promising to procure him a prebend. But unhappily he was at this time engaged in a controversy with the Dissenters, who, in the first part of Queen Anne's reign, had a very powerful influence in both houses of parliament, and at court; and were now preparing to present a petition to the House of Lords, praying for justice against the authors of several pamphlets written in opposition to them, and against Mr. Wesley in particular; but were dissuaded from taking this step by two members of that House. They had however interest enough to hinder Mr. Wesley from obtaining the prebend; they soon also worked him out of the chaplainship of the regiment, and brought several other very severe sufferings upon him and his family.†

As a pastor, he was indefatigable in the duties of his office: a constant preacher, feeding the flock with the pure doctrines of the Gospel, according to his ability; diligent in visiting the sick, and administering such advice as their situations required; and attentive to the conduct of all who were under his care, so that every one in his parish became an object of his attention and concern. No strangers could settle

* MSS. Papers. † Mr. C. Wesley's Papers.

in his parish but he presently knew it, and made himself acquainted with them. We have a proof of this from a letter he wrote to the Bishop of Lincoln, after being absent from home a very short time. "After my return to Epworth, (says he) and looking a little among my people, I found there were two strangers come hither, both of whom I have discovered to be Papists, though they come to church; and I have hopes of making one or both of them good members of the Church of England."

But his conscientious regard to *parochial* duties, did not divert him from literary pursuits. A man who spends all his time in the most useful manner he can, may diversify his employments, and accomplish by diligence what appears to others impracticable. His favourite study seems to have been the original Scriptures, in which he was indefatigable; a practice which can never be too much commended in a minister of the Gospel, when joined with a proper attention to practical duties.

The following extracts from two of his letters to his son, the late Mr. John Wesley, will give some idea of his diligence in this respect; and the second of them will shew us his opinion of a subject on which learned men have been much divided.

"*January* 26, 1725.

"I have some time since designed an edition of the Holy Bible in octavo, in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Septuagint, and the Vulgate; and have made some progress in it. What I desire of you on this article is, 1. That you would immediately fall to work, and read diligently the Hebrew text in the Polyglott, and collate it exactly with the Vulgate, writing all, even the least variations or differences between them. 2. To these I would have you add the Samaritan text in the last column but one; which is the very same with the Hebrew, except in some very few places, differing only in the Samaritan character, which I think is the true old Hebrew. In twelve months' time you will get through the Pentateuch; for I have done it four times the last year, and am going over it the fifth, and collating the two Greek versions, the

Alexandrian and the Vatican, with what I can get of Symmachus and Theodotion," &c.

Mr. John Wesley was in the twenty-second year of his age, not yet ordained, nor had he attained any preferment in the University, when he received this letter from his father. It gives a pleasing view of his progress in biblical learning at this early period of life, and shews his father's confidence in his critical knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures. The following letter was written in 1731, and very clearly states the old gentleman's opinion of the translation of the Seventy, after a most laborious examination of it.

"I find in your letter an account of a learned friend you have, who has a great veneration for the Septuagint, and thinks that in some instances it corrects the present Hebrew. I do not wonder that he is of that mind; as it is likely he has read Vossius and other learned men, who magnify this translation so as to depreciate the original. When I first began to study the Scriptures in earnest, and had read it over several times, I was inclined to the same opinion. What then increased my respect for it was, 1. That I thought I found many texts in the Scriptures more happily explained than in our own or other versions. 2. That many words and phrases in the New Testament, can hardly be so well understood without having recourse to this translation. 3. That both our Saviour and his apostles so frequently quote it. These considerations held me in a blind admiration of the Septuagint; and though I did not esteem them absolutely infallible, yet I hardly dared to trust my own eyes, or think they were frequently mistaken. But upon reading this translation over very often, and comparing it *verbatim* with the Hebrew, I was forced by plain evidence of fact to be of another mind. That which led me to it was, some mistakes (I think not less than a thousand) in places indifferent, either occasioned by the ambiguous sense of some Hebrew words, or by the mistake of some letters, as *daleth* for *resh*, and *vice versa;* which every one knows are very much alike in the old Hebrew character. But what fully determined my judgment was, that I found, or thought I found, very many places

which appeared purposely altered for no very justifiable reason. These at last came so thick upon me in my daily reading, that I began to note them down; not a few instances of which you will see in the dissertation I shall send you in my next packet. I would have you communicate it to your learned friend, with my compliments, earnestly desiring him, as well as you, to peruse it with the greatest prejudice you can: and after you have thoroughly weighed the whole, as I think the subject deserves, to make the strongest objections you are able against any article of it, where you are not convinced by my observations. For I should not deserve a friend, if I did not esteem those my best friends who do their endeavours to set me right, where I may possibly be mistaken, especially in a matter of so great moment."

Those two extracts give an interesting view of this gentleman's learning, diligent study of the Scriptures, and candour, in each of which he holds forth to us an example highly deserving of imitation.

Mr. Wesley was a voluminous writer, which in most cases is a disadvantage to an author, whatever his abilities may be. His Latin commentary on the book of Job is a most elaborate performance; but the subject of this book, and the language in which the commentary is written, are but ill adapted to the generality of modern readers. As a poet he has been censured by Garth and others; though when he failed, it was perhaps as much owing to the difficulty of the subject, as to want of poetical abilities.

Of his larger poetical performances, his son Samuel passes the following candid but impartial judgment, in the elegy above-mentioned.

> "Whate'er his strains, still glorious was his end,
> Faith to assert, and virtue to defend.
> He sung, how God the Saviour deign'd to' expire,
> With Vida's piety, though not his fire;
> Deduc'd his Maker's praise from age to age,
> Through the long annals of the sacred page."

Most of his smaller pieces are excellent. We shall insert the following, both for its intrinsic beauty, and as a specimen of his poetical talents.

EUPOLIS'S HYMN TO THE CREATOR.

THE OCCASION.

Part of a (new) Dialogue, between Plato, and Eupolis the Poet.—The rest not extant.*

Eupolis. But is it not a little hard, that you should banish all our fraternity from your new Commonwealth? What hurt has father Homer done, that you dismiss him among the rest?

Plato. Certainly the blind old gentleman *lies* with the best grace in the world. But a *lie* handsomely told, debauches the taste and morals of a people. Besides, his tales of the *gods* are intolerable, and derogate, in the highest degree, from the dignity of the Divine nature.

Eupolis. But do you really think that these faults are inseparable from poetry? May not the ONE SUPREME be sung, without any intermixture of them!

Plato. I must own I hardly ever saw any thing of that nature. But I shall be glad to see you, or any other, attempt and succeed in it. On that condition, I will gladly exempt you from the fate of your brother poets.

Eupolis. I am far from pretending to be a standard; but I will do the best I can.

THE HYMN.

AUTHOR of Being, Source of Light,
With unfading beauties bright;
Fullness, Goodness, rolling round
Thy own fair orb without a bound:
Whether thee thy suppliants call
Truth, or Good, or One, or All,

* Eupolis was an Athenian. He is mentioned several times by Horace, and once by Perseus; and was in high estimation at Athens for his poetical compositions, though he severely lashed the vices of the age he lived in. He was killed in an engagement at sea, between the Athenians and Lacedemonians; and his death was so much lamented at Athens, that they made a law, that no poet should go to battle. He lived about 400 years before Christ.

Ei, or Iao; thee we hail,
Essence that can never fail;
Grecian or Barbaric name,
Thy steadfast being still the same.

Thee, when morning greets the skies
With rosy cheeks and humid eyes;
Thee, when sweet declining day
Sinks in purple waves away;
Thee will I sing, O parent Jove,
And teach the world to praise and love.

Yonder azure vault on high;
Yonder blue, low, liquid sky;
Earth, on its firm basis plac'd,
And with circl'ing waves embrac'd;
All creating pow'r confess;
All their mighty Maker bless.
Thou shak'st all nature with thy nod;
Sea, earth, and air confess the God:
Yet does thy powerful hand sustain
Both earth and heav'n, both firm and main.
Scarce can our daring thought arise
To thy pavilion in the skies;
Nor can Plato's self declare
The bliss, the joy, the rapture there.
Barren above thou dost not reign,
But circled with a glorious train:
The sons of God, the sons of light,
Ever joying in thy sight:
(For thee their silver harps are strung)
Ever beauteous, ever young,
Angelic forms their voices raise,
And through heav'n's arch resound thy praise.

The feather'd fowls that swim the air:
And bathe in liquid ether there;
The lark, precentor of their choir,
Leading them higher still, and higher,
Listen and learn; th' angelic notes
Repeating in their warbling throats:
And ere to soft repose they go,
Teach them to their lords below:
On the green turf, their mossy nest,
The ev'ning anthem swells their breast;
Thus like thy golden chain from high,
Thy praise unites the earth and sky.

Source of Light! Thou bid'st the sun
On his burning axles run;
The stars, like dust, around him fly,
And strew the area of the sky.
He drives so swift his race above,
Mortals can't perceive him move;
So smooth his course, oblique or straight,
Olympus shakes not with his weight.
As the queen of solemn night
Fills at his vase her orb of light,
Imparted lustre; thus we see
The solar virtue shines by thee.

Eiresione,* we'll no more,
Imaginary pow'r adore;
Since oil, and wool, and cheerful wine,
And life-sustaining bread, are thine.

Thy herbage, O great Pan, sustains
The flocks that graze our Attic plains;
The olive, with fresh verdure crown'd,
Rises pregnant from the ground;
At thy command it shoots and springs,
And a thousand blessings brings.
Minerva only is thy mind,
Wisdom and bounty to mankind.
The fragrant thyme, the bloomy rose,
Herb and flow'r, and shrub that grows
On Thessalian Tempe's plain,
Or where the rich Sabeans reign;
That treat the taste, or smell, or sight,
For food, or med'cine, or delight;
Planted by thy parent-care,
Spring, and smile, and flourish there.

O ye nurses of soft dreams,
Reedy brooks, and winding streams;
Or murmuring o'er the pebbles sheen,
Or sliding through the meadows green;

* This word (εἰρεσιώνη from ἔριον wool) signifies a kind of garland, composed of a branch of olive, wrapt about with wool, and loaded with all kinds of fruits of the earth, as a token of peace and plenty. The poet says, he will no more worship the *imaginary* power, supposed to be the giver of these things; but the great Pan, the Creator, from whom they all proceed.

Or where through matted sedge you creep,
Trav'lling to your parent deep:
Sound his praise by whom you rose,
That sea which neither ebbs nor flows.

O ye immortal woods and groves
Which th' enamour'd student loves;
Beneath whose venerable shade,
For thought and friendly converse made,
Fam'd Hecadem, old hero, lies,
Whose shrine is shaded from the skies,
And through the gloom of silent night
Projects from far its trembling light;
You, whose roots descend as low,
As high in air your branches grow;
Your leafy arms to heav'n extend,
Bend your heads, in homage bend:
Cedars and pines that wave above,
And the oak belov'd of Jove.

Omen, monster, prodigy,
Or nothing are, or Jove from thee!
Whether varied nature play,
Or, re-invers'd, thy will obey,
And to rebel man declare
Famine, plague, or wasteful war.
Laugh, ye profane, who dare despise
The threat'ning vengeance of the skies;
Whilst the pious, on his guard,
Undismay'd, is still prepar'd:
Life or death, his mind's at rest,
Since what thou send'st must needs be best.

No evil can from thee proceed;
'Tis only suffer'd, not decreed.
Darkness is not from the sun;
Nor mount the shades till he is gone:
Then does night obscure arise
From Erebus, and fill the skies,
Fantastic forms the air invade,
Daughters of nothing and of shade.

Can we forget thy guardian care,
Slow to punish, prone to spare;
Thou brak'st the haughty Persian's pride
That dar'd old ocean's pow'r deride;

Their shipwrecks strew'd the Eubean wave,
At Marathon they found a grave.
O ye blest Greeks who there expir'd,
For Greece with pious ardour fir'd,
What shrines or altars shall we raise
To secure your endless praise?
Or need we monuments supply,
To rescue what can never die!

And yet a greater hero far
(Unless great Socrates could err)
Shall rise to bless some future day,
And teach to live, and teach to pray.
Come, unknown Instructor, come!
Our leaping hearts shall make thee room:
Thou with Jove our vows shalt share,
Of Jove and thee we are the care.

O, Father, King, whose heav'nly face
Shines serene on all thy race;
We thy magnificence adore,
And thy well-known aid implore;
Nor vainly for thy help we call;
Nor can we want—for thou art All.

Every good judge, we apprehend, will readily allow that the author of these verses did not want talents for poetry. But wherever we fix his standing in the scale of learning and abilities, he still rises higher in our view for genuine piety, and a firm attachment to justice, mercy, and truth, in various trying situations in life. His integrity was conspicuous, and his conduct uniform. As he had chosen God and his service for his own portion, he chose the same for his children also. When two of his sons were pursuing a course of piety at Oxford, which threw their future prospects of preferment into a cloud not likely to be dissipated, he encouraged them in it, choosing rather that he and his children should suffer affliction with the people of God, than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. Few men have been so diligent in the pastoral office as he was; none, perhaps, more so. Though his income may be called small, and his family large, he had always something to give to those in distress. In conversation he was grave, yet instructive,

lively, and full of anecdote; and this talent the late Mr. Wesley possessed in a high degree. His last moments were as conspicuous for resignation and Christian fortitude, as his life had been for zeal and diligence. His two sons, Mr. John and Charles Wesley, were both with him when he died, and Mr. Charles has given the following interesting account of his death, in a letter to his brother Samuel, dated April 30, 1735.

"DEAR BROTHER,

"AFTER all your desire of seeing my father alive, you are at last assured, you must see his face no more till he is raised in incorruption. You have reason to envy us who could attend him in the last stage of his illness. The few words he could utter I saved, and hope never to forget. Some of them were, "Nothing is too much to suffer for heaven. The weaker I am in body, the stronger and more sensible support I feel from God. There is but a step between me and death; to-morrow I would see you all with me round this table, that we may once more drink of the cup of blessing, before we drink it new in the kingdom of God. With desire have I desired to eat this passover with you before I die." The morning he was to communicate, he was so exceeding weak and full of pain, that he could not without the utmost difficulty receive the elements, often repeating, "Thou shakest me, thou shakest me; but immediately after receiving, there followed the most visible alteration. He appeared full of faith and peace, which extended even to his body; for he was so much better, that we almost hoped he would have recovered. The fear of death he entirely conquered, and at last gave up his latest human desires of finishing Job, paying his debts, and seeing you. He often laid his hand upon my head, and said, "Be steady! The Christian faith will surely revive in this kingdom; you shall see it, though I shall not." To my sister Emily he said, "Do not be concerned at my death, God will then begin to manifest himself to my family." When we were met about him, his usual expression was, "Now let me hear you talk of heaven." On my asking him whether he did not find himself worse, he replied, "O, my Charles, I feel a great deal; God chastens

me with strong pain, but I praise him for it, I thank him for it, I love him for it." On the 25th, his voice failed him, and nature seemed entirely spent, when, on my brother's asking whether he was not near heaven, he answered distinctly, and with the utmost of hope and triumph that could be expressed in sounds, "Yes, I am." He spoke once more, just after my brother had used the commendatory prayer; his last words were, "Now you have done all!" This was about half an hour after six, from which time till sun-set, he made signs of offering up himself, till my brother having again used the commendatory prayer, the very moment it was finished he expired. His passage was so smooth and insensible, that notwithstanding the stopping of his pulse, and ceasing of all sign of life and motion, we continued over him a considerable time, in doubt whether the soul was departed or no. My mother, who for several days before he died, hardly ever went into his chamber but she was carried out again in a fit, was far less shocked at the news than we expected, and told us that now she was heard, in his having so easy a death, and her being strengthend so to bear it."

In going through this work, let the reader consider himself as travelling slowly on a pleasant road, where a variety of objects, highly worthy of his attention and regard, present themselves to his view. In passing along this little distance, we have, as it were, stood by, and seen two ministers of the Gospel die; the one a *Nonconformist*, and the other a *High Church-man*. As we see them approach the entrance on eternity, the scene becomes interesting, and will suggest to the reader many important reflections. Dropping their singularities of opinion, and all party distinctions, we now view them coalescing, and becoming one in Christ Jesus. Animated with the same spirit of devotion, they look up to God as their *common* Father, through the *same* Mediator and Saviour; they praise him for the *same* mercies, and, looking forward to his kingdom and glory with the *same* humble confidence, both triumph over death, as he draws nigh to them: they give satisfactory evidence that they were united to Christ, belonging to the *same* family, and were heirs of the *same* heavenly inheritance, not-

withstanding the external differences in their mode of worship. These considerations should teach us to be careful, not to over-value the external differences among Christians, nor to exalt the discriminating distinctions of parties into the rank of fundamental articles of Christianity. As long as we lay the *same foundation*, and endeavour to build upon it, *gold*, *silver*, and *precious stones*, we ought to have fellowship with each other as brethren, notwithstanding the *different manner* in which we manage the materials, and give a *varied appearance* to the building.

SECTION II.

OF MRS. SUSANNAH WESLEY.

MRS. SUSANNAH WESLEY, the mother of the late Mr. John Wesley, was the youngest daughter of Dr. Samuel Annesley, and a few years younger than her husband. Being educated in a very religious family, she early imbibed a reverence for religion; but having a strong understanding, and a great thirst for knowledge, she soon found herself dissatisfied with believing on the authority of her teachers, and was determined, as far as possible, to see what evidence there was for the truth of those things she was required to believe. Before she was thirteen years old, she had examined the whole controversy between the Dissenters and the Established Church, and from that time became a member of the Church of England. And though different men may, and will, judge variously of the choice she made, yet all must acknowledge, that this effort to judge for herself, at so early an age, and in so complicated a subject, was singularly great, and shewed uncommon resolution and strength of mind. She afterwards examined the evidences of natural and revealed religion with scrupulous attention, and under every article set down the reasons which determined her to believe it. Of these things she speaks thus, in a letter to her son, Samuel Wesley, dated October 11, 1709.

"There is nothing I now desire to live for, but to do some small service to my children; that, as I have brought them into the world, I may, if it please God, be an instrument of doing good to their souls. I had been several years collecting from my little reading, but chiefly from my own *observation* and experience, some things which I hoped might be useful to you all. I had begun to correct and form all into a little manual; wherein I designed you should have seen what were the particular reasons which prevailed on me to believe the Being of a God, and the grounds of natural religion, together with the motives that induced me to embrace the faith of Jesus Christ; under which were comprehended my own private reasons for the truth of revealed religion. And because I was educated among the Dissenters, and there was something remarkable in my leaving them at so early an age, not being full thirteen, I had drawn up an account of the whole transaction, under which I had included the main of the controversy between them and the Established Church, as far as it had come to my knowledge; and then followed the reasons which had determined my judgment to the preference of the Church of England. I had fairly transcribed a great part of it, when, you writing to me for some directions about receiving the sacrament, I began a short discourse on that subject, intending to send them all together; but before I could finish my design, the flames consumed both this and all my other writings.* I would have you, at your leisure, begin to do something like this for yourself, and write down what are the principles on which you build your faith; and though I cannot possibly recover all I formerly wrote, yet I will gladly assist you what I can, in explaining any difficulty that may occur."

In one of her private meditations she reckons the following among the signal mercies which God had bestowed upon her. "Born in a christian country: early initiated and instructed in the first principles of the Christian religion: good examples in parents and several of the family: good books and

* When their house was burnt down in February, 1709.

ingenious conversation: preserved from ill accidents, once from violent death: married to a religious orthodox man; by him first drawn off from the Socinian heresy, and afterwards confirmed and strengthened by Bishop Bull." *

About the year 1700, she made a resolution to spend one hour, morning and evening, in private devotion, in prayer and meditation; and she religiously kept it ever after, unless sickness hindered, or some absolutely necessary business of her family obliged her to shorten the time. If opportunity offered, she spent some time at noon in this religious and profitable employment. She generally wrote down her thoughts on different subjects at these times; and great numbers of her meditations have been preserved in her own handwriting. We shall select a few, because they shew us this excellent woman in her most private retirement, conversing without disguise with him who knows the heart.

Noon. "To know God only as a philosopher; to have the most sublime and curious speculations concerning his essence, attributes, and providence; to be able to demonstrate his Being from all, or any, of the works of nature, and to discourse with the greatest propriety and eloquence, of his existence and operations; will avail us nothing, unless at the same time we know him experimentally; unless the heart know him to be its supreme good, its only happiness; unless a man feel and acknowledge that he can find no repose, no peace, no joy, but in loving and being beloved by him, and does accordingly rest in him as the centre of his being, the fountain of his pleasures, the origin of all virtue and goodness, his light, his life, his strength, his all; in a word, his Lord, his God. Thus let me ever know thee, O God!"

Evening. "The mind of man is naturally so corrupted, and all the powers thereof so weakened, that we cannot possibly aspire vigorously towards God, or have any clear perception of spiritual things, without his assistance. Nothing less than the same Almighty power that raised Jesus Christ

* In the Manuscript it stands thus, B. B.; which seems intended for Bishop Bull.

from the dead, can raise our souls from the death of sin to a life of holiness.—To know God experimentally is altogether supernatural, and what we can never attain to, but by the merits and intercession of Jesus Christ. By virtue of what he has done and suffered, and is now doing in heaven for us, we obtain the Holy Spirit, who is the best instructer, the most powerful teacher we can possibly have; without whose agency, all other means of grace would be ineffectual.—How evidently does the Holy Spirit concur with the means of grace? and how certainly does he assist and strengthen the soul, if it be but sincere and hearty in its endeavours to avoid any evil, or perform any good.—To have a good desire, a fervent aspiration towards God, shall not pass unregarded. I have found, by long experience, that it is of great use to accustom one's self to *enter into solemn engagements with God* against any particular sin; but then I would have them never made for a longer time, than from morning till night, and from night till morning, that so the impression they make on the mind, may be always fresh and lively. This was many years tried with good success, in the case of——Glory be to thee, O Lord."

Evening. "I am yet unsatisfied, because I do not enjoy enough of God; I apprehend myself at too great a distance from him; I would have my soul united more closely to him by faith and love.—I can appeal to his omniscience, that I would love him above all things. He that made me, knows my desires, my expectations, my joys all centre in him, and that it is he himself I desire; it is his favour, his acceptance, the communications of his grace, that I earnestly wish for more than any thing in the world; and that I have no relish or delight in any thing when under apprehensions of his displeasure. I rejoice in his essential glory and blessedness; I rejoice in my relation to him, that he is my Father, my Lord, and my God. I rejoice that he has power over me, and desire to live in subjection to him; that he condescends to punish me when I transgress his laws, as a father chasteneth the son whom he loveth—I thank him that he has brought me so far, and will beware of despairing of his mercy

for the time which is yet to come; but will give God the glory of his free grace."

Morning. "Though man is born to trouble, yet I believe there is scarce a man to be found upon earth, but, take the whole course of his life, hath more mercies than afflictions, and much more pleasure than pain. I am sure it has been so in my case. I have many years suffered much pain, and great bodily infirmities; but I have likewise enjoyed great intervals of rest and ease. And those very sufferings have, by the blessing of God, been of excellent use, and proved the most proper means of reclaiming me from a vain and sinful conversation, insomuch, that I cannot say I had better have been without this affliction, this disease, loss, want, contempt, or reproach. All my sufferings, by the admirable management of Omnipotent goodness, have concurred to promote my spiritual and eternal good. And if I have not reaped that advantage by them which I might have done, it is merely owing to the perverseness of my own will, and frequent lapses into present things, and unfaithfulness to the good Spirit of God; who, notwithstanding all my prevarications, all the stupid opposition I have made, has never totally abandoned me. Eternal glory be to thee, O Lord!"

Evening. "If to esteem and to have the highest *reverence* for thee! If constantly and sincerely to acknowledge thee, the supreme, the only desirable good, be to love thee, I do love thee!

"If comparatively to despise and undervalue all the world contains, which is esteemed great, or fair, or good; if earnestly and constantly to desire thee, thy favour, thy acceptance, thyself, rather than any or all things thou hast created, be to love thee, I do love thee!

"If to rejoice in thy essential majesty and glory! if to feel a vital joy o'erspread and cheer the heart at each perception of thy blessedness, at every thought that thou art God; that all things are in thy power; that there is none superior or equal to thee,—be to love thee, I do love thee!"

Notwithstanding Mrs. Wesley allotted two hours in the day for meditation and private prayer, no woman was ever more diligent in business, or attentive to family affairs than she was. Remarkable for method and good arrangement, both in her studies and business, she saved much time, and kept her mind free from perplexity. She had nineteen children, ten of whom, at least, grew up to be educated, and this duty fell upon her; and it was almost impossible for the children to have had a better instructer. From several things which are found in her papers, it appears that she had acquired some knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages in her youth, though she never makes any pretensions to it. She had read much, and thought deeply, and in general very accurately, on every part of natural and revealed religion, and on the common affairs of life. She had studied human nature well, and knew how to adapt her discourse either to youth or age; and without this no person is properly qualified to instruct others. She had set out in life with a determination to think and judge for herself; and not to be influenced by custom in matters of importance, unless when custom appeared to be founded in reason and truth. It was this principle which governed her in the education of her children; for, disapproving of the common methods of governing and instructing youth, she adopted those methods which appeared to her the most rational and proper. Their rising, dressing, eating, exercise, and every thing that related to them was managed by rule, unless when sickness hindered. They were very early taught obedience to their parents, and to wait their decision in every thing they were to have or do. As soon as they could speak, they were taught the Lord's prayer, and made to repeat it at rising and bed-time constantly. As they grew bigger, they were taught a short prayer for their parents, and some collects; a short catechism, and some portion of Scripture, as their memories could bear. They were early made to distinguish the Sabbath from other days; and were soon taught to be still at family prayers, and to ask a blessing immediately after, which they used to do by signs before they could kneel or speak. Her method of teaching them to read was certainly peculiar to herself, and

deserves to be taken notice notice of; we shall give it in her own words, in a letter to Mr. John Wesley. "None of them were taught to read till five years old, except Kezzy, in whose case I was over-ruled; and she was more years in learning than any of the rest had been months. The way of teaching was this: the day before a child began to learn, the house was set in order, every one's work appointed them, and a charge given that none should come into the room from nine till twelve, or from two till five, which were our school hours. One day was allowed the child wherein to learn its letters, and each of them did in that time know all its letters, great and small, except Molly and Nancy, who were a day and a half before they knew them perfectly; for which I then thought them very dull; but the reason why I thought them so, was because the rest learned them so readily, and your brother Samuel, who was the first child I ever taught, learnt the alphabet in a few hours. He was five years old on the tenth of February; the next day he began to learn, and, as soon as he knew the letters, began at the first chapter of Genesis. He was taught to spell the first verse, then to read it over and over, till he could read it off hand without any hesitation; so on to the second, &c. till he took ten verses for a lesson, which he quickly did. Easter fell low that year, and by Whitsuntide he could read a chapter very well; for he read continually, and had such a prodigious memory, that I cannot remember ever to have told him the same word twice. What was yet stranger, any word he had learnt in his lesson, he knew wherever he saw it, either in his Bible or any other book, by which means he learnt very soon to read an English author well.

"The same method was observed with them all. As soon as they knew the letters, they were first put to spell, and read one line, then a verse, never leaving till perfect in their lesson, were it shorter or longer. So one or other continued reading at school time without any intermission; and before we left school, each child read what he had learnt that morning; and ere we parted in the afternoon, what he had learned that day."

Mr. Wesley observes of his mother, that even she, as well

as her father and grand-father, her husband, and three sons, had been in her measure, a preacher of righteousness. And this is a remarkable circumstance in her life, and shews her zeal and steadiness in doing good: it shall be related a little more at large, from the original letters, than Mr. Wesley has done.

Her husband usually attended the sittings of convocation; and on these occasions was obliged to reside in London for a length of time that was often injurious to his parish; and at an expence that was inconvenient to himself and his family. It was on this business, it appears, that he spent so much time in London in the beginning of the year 1712. During his absence, Mrs. Wesley formed a little meeting at her house on a Sunday evening, when she read a sermon, prayed, and conversed with the people who came for this purpose. She acquainted her husband of their meeting, who, on account of the newness and singularity of the thing, made some objections against it. Her answer is dated the 6th of February, 1712, in which she says, "I heartily thank you for dealing so plainly and faithfully with me in a matter of no common concern. The main of your objections against our Sunday evening meetings, are, first, that it will look particular; secondly, my sex; and, lastly, your being at present in a public station and character; to all which I shall answer briefly.

"As to its looking particular, I grant it does, and so does almost every thing that is serious, or that may in any degree advance the glory of God, or the salvation of souls, if it be performed out of a pulpit, or in the way of common conversation; because in our corrupt age, the utmost care and diligence have been used to banish all discourse of God, or spiritual concerns, out of society; as if religion were never to appear out of the closet, and we were to be ashamed of nothing so much as, of professing ourselves to be christians.

"To your second, I reply, that, as I am a woman, so I am also mistress of a large family. And though the superior

charge of the souls contained in it lies upon you, as head of the family, and as their minister, yet in your absence I cannot but look upon every soul you leave under my care, as a talent committed to me under a trust, by the great Lord of all the families of heaven and earth; and if I am unfaithful to him or to you, in neglecting to improve these talents, how shall I answer unto him, when he shall command me to render an account of my stewardship.

"As these, and other such like thoughts, made me at first take a more than ordinary care of the souls of my children and servants; so knowing that our most holy religion requires a strict observation of the Lord's day, and not thinking that we fully answered the end of the institution by only going to church; but that likewise we were obliged to fill up the intermediate spaces of that sacred time by other acts of piety and devotion; I thought it my duty to spend some part of the day in reading to, and instructing my family; especially in your absence, when, having no afternoon service, we have so much leisure for such exercises; and such time I esteemed spent in a way more acceptable to God than if I had retired to my own private devotions.

"This was the beginning of my present practice: other people's coming in, and joining with us, was purely accidental. Our lad told his parents; they first desired to be admitted; then others who heard of it begged leave also; so our company increased to about thirty, and seldom exceeded forty last winter; and why it increased since, I leave you to judge after you have read what follows.

"Soon after you went to London, Emily found in your study the account of the Danish Missionaries; which, having never seen, I ordered her to read me. I was never, I think, more affected with any thing than with the relation of their travels; and was exceedingly pleased with the noble design they were engaged in. Their labours refreshed my soul beyond measure, and I could not forbear spending a good part of that evening in praising and adoring the Divine Goodness, for inspiring those good men with such an ardent zeal for his glory, that they were willing to hazard their lives, and all that is esteemed dear to men in this world, to

advance the honour of their Master, Jesus! For several days I could think or speak of little else. At last it came into my mind; though I am not a man, nor a minister of the Gospel, and so cannot be engaged in such a worthy employment as they were; yet, if my heart were sincerely devoted to God, and if I were inspired with a true zeal for his glory, and did really desire the salvation of souls, I might do somewhat more than I do. I thought I might live in a more exemplary *manner in some things;* I might pray more for *the people*, and speak with more warmth to those with whom I have an opportunity of conversing. However I resolved to begin with my own children; and accordingly I proposed and observed the following method. I take such a proportion of time as I can best spare every night, to discourse with each child by itself, on something that relates to its principal concerns. On Monday I talk with Molly; on Tuesday with Hetty; Wednesday with Nancy; Thursday with Jacky; Friday with Patty; Saturday with Charles; and with Emily and Suky together on Sunday.

"With those few neighbours who then came to me I discoursed more freely and affectionately *than before;* I chose the best and most awakening sermons we had, and I spent more time with them in such exercises. Since this, our company has increased every night; for I dare deny none who ask admittance. Last Sunday I believe we had above two hundred, and yet many went away for want of room.

"But I never durst positively presume to hope, that God would make use of me as an instrument in doing good; the farthest I ever durst go was, It may be; who can tell? with God all things are possible. I will resign myself to him; or, as Herbert better expresses it,

> "Only, since God doth often make
> Of lowly matter, for high uses meet,
> I throw me at his feet;
> There will I lie, until my Maker seek
> For some mean stuff, whereon to shew his skill,
> Then is my time——."

And thus I rested, without passing any reflection on myself, or forming any judgment about the success or event of this undertaking.

"Your third objection I leave to be answered by your own judgment. We meet not upon any worldly design. We banish all temporal concerns from our society; none is suffered to mingle any discourse about them with our reading or singing: we keep close to the business of the day, and as soon as it is over they all go home. And where is the harm of this? If I and my children went a visiting on Sunday nights, or if we admitted of impertinent visits, as too many do who think themselves good christians, perhaps it would be thought no scandalous practice, though in truth it would be so; therefore why any should reflect upon you, let your station be what it will, because your wife endeavours to draw people to church, and to restrain them by reading and other persuasions, from their profanation of God's most holy day, I cannot conceive. But if any should be so mad as to do it, I wish you would not regard it. For my part, I value no censure on this account: I have long since shook hands with the world, and I heartily wish I had never given them more reason to speak against me.

"As for your proposal of letting some other person read, alas! you do not consider what a people these are. I do not think one man among them could read a sermon, without spelling a good part of it; and how would that edify the rest? Nor has any of our family a voice strong enough to be heard by such a number of people.

"But there is one thing about which I am much dissatisfied; that is, their being present at family prayers. I do not speak of any concern I am under, barely because so many are present. For those who have the honour of speaking to the great and holy God, need not be ashamed to speak before the whole world, but because of my sex. I doubt, if it be proper for *me* to present the prayers of the people to God. Last Sunday I would fain have dismissed them before prayers; but they begged so earnestly to stay, I durst not deny them."

In this, as in every other part of her conduct, Mrs. Wesley acted from principle, and from mature deliberation. No person, perhaps, ever had a greater regard for the established order of the church of England, than she had; but she considered her conduct, in this instance, as coinciding with the spirit and intention of that order; to reform the manners of the people, and to beget in them a reverence for the public worship. It is obvious that this consideration alone silenced every objection in her mind, concerning her present proceedings. But, though she was satisfied of the propriety of her own conduct, she thought it her duty to abide by the decision of her husband. He had already written to her on the subject, and though he had made some objections, yet, upon the whole, he seemed to approve of the meeting. But Mr. Inman the Curate, and two or three of his companions highly disapproved of it, and wrote to Mr. Wesley, complaining heavily of it, calling it a conventicle, &c. It is painful to see a clergyman among the foremost to oppose any thing that may tend to diffuse knowledge among the common people, and impress their minds with a serious sense of religion, and the duties it enjoins. This was evidently the case in the present instance; and the representations made to Mr. Wesley had such an effect upon his mind, that he wrote to his wife in a tone of disapprobation which he had not used before. Her answer, which is dated the 25th of February, is worthy of herself, and of the cause in which she was engaged.

"Some few days since," says she, "I received a letter from you, I suppose dated the 16th instant, which I made no great haste to answer; because I judged it necessary for both of us to take some time to consider, before you determine in a matter of such great importance. I shall not enquire how it was possible that you should be prevailed on, by the senseless clamours of two or three of the worst of your parish, to condemn what you so very lately approved: but I shall tell you my mind in as few words as possible. I do not hear of more than three or four persons who are

against our meeting, of whom Inman is the chief. He and Whitely, I believe, may call it a conventicle; but we hear no outcry here, nor has any one said a word against it to me. And what does their calling it a conventicle signify? Does it alter the nature of the thing? or do you think that what they say is a sufficient reason to forbear a thing that has already done much good, and, by the blessing of God, may do much more? If its being called a conventicle by those who know in their conscience they misrepresent it, did really make it one, what you say would be somewhat to the purpose; but it is plain, in fact, that this one thing has brought more people to church than ever any thing did in so short a time. We used not to have above twenty, or twenty-five, at evening service, whereas now we have between two and three hundred; which are more than ever came before to hear Inman in the morning.

"Besides the constant attendance on the public worship of God, our meeting has wonderfully conciliated the minds of this people towards us, so that we now live in the greatest amity imaginable; and, what is still better, they are very much reformed in their behaviour on the Lord's day; and those who used to be playing in the streets, now come to hear a good sermon read, which is surely more acceptable to Almighty God.

"Another reason for what I do, is, that I have no other way of conversing with this people, and, therefore, have no other way of doing them good; but by this I have an opportunity of exercising the greatest and noblest charity, that is charity to their souls.

"Some families who seldom went to church, now go constantly; and one person who has not been there for seven years, is now prevailed upon to go with the rest.

"There are many other good consequences of this meeting which I have not time to mention. Now, I beseech you, weigh all things in an impartial balance: on the one side, the honour of Almighty God, the doing much good to many souls, and the friendship of the best among whom we live; on the other, (if folly, impiety, and vanity, may abide in the scale against so ponderous a weight) the sense-

less objections of a few scandalous persons, laughing at us, and censuring us as precise and hypocritical; and when you have duly considered all things, let me know your positive determination.

"I need not tell you the consequences, if you determine to put an end to our meeting. You may easily foresee what prejudices it may raise in the minds of those people against Inman especially, who has so little wit as to speak publicly against it. I can now keep them to the church, but if it be laid aside, I doubt they will never go to hear him more, at least those who come from the lower end of the town; but if this be continued till you return, which will not be long, it may please God that their hearts may be so changed by that time, that they may love and delight in his public worship so as never to neglect it more.

"If you do, after all, think fit to dissolve this assembly, do not tell me that you desire me to do it, for that will not satisfy my conscience: but send me your *positive command*, in such full and express terms, as may absolve me from guilt and punishment for neglecting this opportunity of doing good, when you and I shall appear before the great and awful tribunal of our LORD JESUS CHRIST."

The meeting was continued until Mr. Wesley returned to Epworth.

Mrs. Wesley continued to discharge the duties of a wife and parent with the greatest diligence and punctuality. The letters she wrote to her sons when at Oxford, and after they had left it, shew her in the most amiable light, both for knowledge and piety. In 1735, she lost her husband, and afterwards divided her time between her children, till about the year 1739; after which, she resided chiefly in London.

It appears from all we have seen of Mrs. Wesley, that she was a woman of real experience in the things of God. But it does not appear that she had a clear notion of justification as distinct from sanctification; on the contrary, she seems to have confounded them together. The consequence was, that her knowledge of the doctrine of justification by

faith alone, without the law, was not so clear as it might have been; and this hindered her from enjoying that full assurance of her acceptance, and the peace and joy consequent upon it, which otherwise she would have had. When her two sons, Mr. J. and C. Wesley, began to preach the doctrine of justification by faith, in 1738, and many professed to be justified, and to know the time this change in their state took place, she mentions their notions as new, in a letter she wrote to her son Samuel in November this year; * tho' it must be acknowledged that she had not then conversed with them on the subject, and, therefore, did not know what doctrines they taught, except by report. But soon after, she came to reside chiefly in London, and then enjoyed the conversation of her sons alternately, the one being always in town while the other was in the country. She also attended on their ministry, conversed with the people of the society, and became more perfectly acquainted with their whole doctrine, and seems heartily to have embraced it.

She continued in the most perfect harmony with them till her death; attending on their ministry, and walking in the light of God's countenance, she rejoiced in the happy experience of the truth she heard them preach. In the first attempts of a Layman to preach, it is said she heard his discourses. Mr. John Wesley was, at this time, absent from London; but the thing being quite new, and appearing extraordinary, he was immediately made acquainted with it. He hastened up to London, with a full determination to put a stop to so glaring an irregularity. He conversed with his mother on the subject and told her his intention. She said, "I charge you before God, take care what you do, for that man is as much called to preach the gospel as ever you were." This kept him from an hasty execution of his purpose; and it being found, upon enquiry, that good was done to the people, the practice was *suffered* to continue.

Mr. Wesley gives the following account of his mother's

* Printed in Dr. Priestley's Collection.

death :* "I left Bristol in the evening of Sunday the 18th, (July 1742) and on Tuesday came to London. I found my mother on the borders of eternity. But she had no doubt or fear; nor any desire but as soon as God should call, *to depart and be with Christ.*

"Friday the 23d, about three in the afternoon, I went to my mother, and found her change was near. She was in her last conflict, unable to speak, but, I believe, quite sensible. Her look was calm and serene, and her eyes fixed upward, while we commended her soul to God. From three to four, the silver cord was loosing, and the wheel breaking at the cistern; and then, without any struggle, or sigh, or groan, the soul was set at liberty! We stood round the bed, and fulfilled her last request, uttered a little before she lost her speech; 'Children, as soon as I am released, sing a psalm of praise to God.'

"Sunday, August 1st. Almost an innumerable company of people being gathered together, about five in the afternoon, I committed to the earth the body of my mother to sleep with her fathers. The portion of scripture from which I afterwards spoke, was, *I saw a great white throne and him that sat on it; from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, standing before God, and the books were opened—And the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.* It was one of the most solemn assemblies I ever saw, or expect to see on this side eternity.

"We set up a plain stone at the head of her grave, inscribed with the following words:

"Here lies the body of Mrs. Susannah Wesley, the youngest and last surviving daughter of Dr. Sam. Annesley.

"In sure and steadfast hope to rise,
And claim her mansion in the skies,
A Christian here her flesh laid down,
The cross exchanging for a crown." &c.

* Wesley's Works, Duodecimo Edition, Vol. xxviii. p. 83. N. B. The date in the printed Journal is erroneous.

SECTION III.

OF MR. WESLEY'S SISTERS.

MRS. SUSANNAH WESLEY, of whom we have last spoken, had taken great pains with all her children, to furnish their minds with useful knowledge, and to instil into them the principles of religion and virtue. The daughters were by no means neglected, they shared their mother's care with the sons. Most of them had a fine genius for poetry; but Mrs. Wright shone the brightest in this walk of elegant amusement, and to her we shall chiefly confine our observations in speaking of the daughters of these venerable parents.

Mrs. Wright was her mother's tenth or eleventh child; and it has been said, that when she was eight years old she could read the Greek Testament. From her infancy she was gay and sprightly, and extremely addicted to wit and humour. As she grew up, she indulged herself in these dispositions so far as to give great uneasiness to her parents, and was often betrayed into little inadvertencies, which contributed, at least, to her future unhappiness in life. About the year 1724, or the beginning of 1725, a gentleman, respectable so far as we can find, both for his abilities and situation in life, paid his addresses to her, and she had a sincere regard for him. But from some circumstance or other, he and her father disagreed, and the affair was broken off. From a concurrence of circumstances in the end of the year 1725, she was induced to marry a person no way adapted to make her happy; being low and rude in address, and much inferior to her in understanding; and he proved unkind to her. Her situation preyed upon her mind, her health and strength gradually wasted away, and at length, she sunk into a degree of melancholy that made her truly wretched. Most of her verses which have been preserved, though beautiful, and written in the true spirit of poetry, are saddened with an air of deep distress, which strongly marks this state of body and mind.

The following beautiful lines seem to have been a mere extempore effusion poured out from the fulness of her heart on the occasion, and sharpened with the keen distress of her hopeless situation.

Address to her dying Infant, September, 1728.*

" TENDER softness ! infant mild !
Perfect, sweetest, loveliest child !
Transient lustre ! beauteous clay !
Smiling wonder of a day !
Ere the last convulsive start
Rend thy unresisting heart,
Ere the long-enduring swoon
Weigh thy precious eye-lids down !
Ah regard a mother's moan ;
Anguish deeper than thine own.

" Fairest eyes, whose dawning light
Late with rapture bless'd my sight ;
Ere your orbs extinguish'd be,
Bend their trembling beams on me !
Drooping sweetness ! verdant flower
Blooming, with'ring in an hour !
Ere thy gentle breast sustains
Latest, fiercest, mortal pains,
Hear a suppliant ! let me be
Partner in thy destiny !

" That whene'er the fatal cloud
Must thy radiant temples shroud ;
When deadly damps (impending now)
Shall hover round thy destin'd brow ;
Diffusive may their influence be,
And with the blossom blast the tree !

In this state of mind and declining fast in health, she wrote the following Epitaph for herself :

* The child died the third day after it was born. *Private Papers.*

" Destin'd, while living to sustain
An equal share of grief and pain!
All various ills of human race
Within this breast had once a place.
Without complaint she learn'd to bear
A living death, a long despair;
Till hard oppress'd by adverse fate
O'ercharg'd, she sunk beneath the weight,
And to this peaceful tomb retir'd,
So much esteem'd, so long desir'd!
The painful, mortal conflict's o'er:
A broken heart can bleed no more."

Mrs. Wright, however, lived many years after this; and, at length, religion coming to her aid, it soothed the anguish of her mind, and gave her peace, tho' she never recovered her health.

The first religious letter she wrote to Mr. Wesley, was in 1743; she says, "Some years ago I told my brother Charles, I could not be of his way of thinking then, but that if ever I was, I would as freely own it. After I was convinced of sin—and of your opinion, as far as I had examined your principles, I still forbore declaring my sentiments so openly as I had inclination to do, fearing I should relapse into my former state. When I was delivered from this fear, and had a blessed hope, that he who had begun would finish his work, I never confessed, so fully as I ought, how entirely I was of your mind; because I was taxed with insincerity and hypocrisy whenever I opened my mouth in favour of religion, or owned how great things God had done for me. This discouraged me utterly, and prevented me from making my change as public as my folly and vanity had formerly been. But now my health is gone, I cannot be easy without declaring that I have long desired to know but one thing; that is Jesus Christ, and him crucified; and this desire prevails above all others. And tho' I am cut off from all human help or ministry, I am not without assistance; tho' I have no spiritual friend, nor ever had one yet, except, perhaps, once in a year or two, when I have seen one of my brothers, or some other religious person, by stealth; yet (no thanks to me) I am enabled to

seek him still, and to be satisfied with nothing less than God, in whose presence I affirm this truth. I dare not desire health, only patience, resignation, and the spirit of an healthful mind.—I have been so long weak, that I know not how long my trial may last; but I have a firm persuasion and blessed hope (though no full assurance) that in the country I am going to, I shall not sing Hallelujah, and Holy, holy, holy, without company, as I have done in this. Dear brother, I am unused to speak or write on these things—I only speak my plain thoughts as they occur. Adieu. If you have time from better business, to send a line to Stanmore, so great a comfort would be as welcome as it is wanted."

In July, 1744, she wrote to her brother from Bristol, where, it seems, she then resided, at least for some time. She speaks of herself in the most humiliating terms. She highly commends the christian friendship of Mrs. Vigor, Miss Stafford, and some others. She now enjoyed the means of grace, and the benefit of conversation with the people of the society, and continued to grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Mrs. Wright persevered in a religious course of life, patient in her sufferings, resigned to her weakness, and waiting for full salvation in a deliverance from this mortal state, till 1751. In March this year, Mr. Charles Wesley speaks thus of her:—"Prayed by my sister Wright, a gracious, tender, trembling soul; a bruised reed, which the Lord will not break." She died on the 21st of the same month, and Mr. Charles preached her funeral sermon. He observes that he had sweet fellowship with her in explaining those words, *Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself; for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended.* He adds, "All present seemed partakers both of my sorrow and my joy."

From this authentic account of Mrs. Wright, taken from original letters, we may correct an error of Mr. Duncombe concerning her. This gentleman has insinuated in his *Feminead*, that her pungent distress and gloomy despair,

originated from mistaken and superstitious views of religion: it appears, on the contrary, that they arose from a very different cause, and that religion was the thing that restored her to peace and happiness; and, indeed, the only thing that could do it. Mr. Duncombe's words are,

> " But, ah! why heaves my breast this pensive sigh?
> Why starts this tear unbidden from my eye?
> What breast from sighs, what eye from tears refrains,
> When sweetly, mournful hapless WRIGHT complains?
> And who but grieves to see her gen'rous mind,
> For nobler views, and worthier guests design'd,
> Amidst the hateful form of black despair,
> Wan with the gloom of superstitious care?
> In pity-moving lays, with earnest cries,
> She call'd on heav'n to close her weary eyes,
> And long on earth by heart-felt woes opprest,
> Was borne by friendly death to welcome rest!" *

It is grievous to see authors, whose works are likely to be read, take every opportunity to dress out religion in the most ugly forms they can invent, to deter young people from embracing it, and attributing to it the calamities of life which religion alone is able to alleviate and redress.

The following, among other poetical compositions, were written by Mrs. Wright; but at what period of her life is not known.

To the Memory of her Uncle, a Physician.†
He died in 1737.‡

> " HOW can the muse attempt the string,
> Forsaken by her guardian power:
> Ah me! that she survives to sing,
> Her friend and patron, now no more!
> Yet private grief she might suppress,
> Since CLIO bears no selfish mind;
> But, oh! she mourns to wild excess
> The friend and patron of mankind.

* See Christian Magazine, vol. iii. p. 523.
† Christian Magazine, vol. iii. p 284. See above page 12.
‡ Mr. Charles Wesley's Journal.

" Alas! the sovereign healing art,
Which rescu'd thousands from the grave,
Unaided left the gentlest heart,
Nor could its skilful master save.
Who shall the helpless sex sustain,
Now VARO's lenient hand is gone?
Which knew so well to soften pain,
And ward all dangers but his own.

" His darling muse, his CLIO dear,
Whom first his favour rais'd to fame,
His gentle voice vouchsaf'd to cheer,
His art upheld her tender frame.
Pale envy durst not shew her teeth,
Above contempt she gaily shone
Chief favourite, till the hand of death
Endanger'd both by striking one.

" Perceiving well, devoid of fear,
His latest fatal conflict nigh,
Reclin'd on her he held most dear,
Whose breast receiv'd his parting sigh;
With ev'ry art and grace adorn'd,
By man admir'd, by heaven approv'd,
Good VARO died—applauded, mourn'd,
And honour'd by the muse he lov'd."

To the Memory of her Sister.

" IF happy spirits are allow'd to know,
And hover round what once they lov'd below,
MARIA, gentlest excellence, attend,
To one who glories to have call'd thee friend!
Remote in merit, though ally'd in blood,
Though worthless I, and thou divinely good;
Accept, dear shade, from me these artless lays,
Who never durst unjustly blame or praise.

" With bus'ness and devotion never cloy'd,
No moment of thy life pass'd unemploy'd:
Well-natur'd mirth matur'd discretion join'd,
Constant attendants on the virtuous mind:
Ah me! that heav'n has from this bosom torn
The dearest friend whom I must ever mourn,
Ere STELLA could discharge the smallest part
Of what she ow'd to such immense desert.

" Pleasing thy face and form, tho' heav'n confin'd
To scanty limits thy extensive mind:
Witness the taintless lustre of thy skin,
Bright emblem of the brighter soul within;
That soul which easy, unaffected, mild,
Through jetty eyes with pleasing sweetness smil'd.

" To soundest prudence, life's unerring guide,
To love sincere, religion void of pride;
To friendship, perfect in a female mind,
Which I can never hope again to find:
To mirth, the balm of care, from lightness free,
To steadfast truth, unwearied industry,
To every charm and grace, compriz'd in you,
Sister and friend, a long and last adieu!

A Farewell to the World.

" WHILE sickness rends this tenement of clay,
Th' approaching change with pleasure I survey,
O'erjoy'd to reach the goal with eager pace,
Ere my slow life has measur'd half its race.
No longer shall I bear, my friends to please,
The hard constraint of seeming much at ease,
Wearing an outward smile, a look serene,
While piercing racks and tortures lurk within.
Yet let me not, ungrateful to my God,
Record the evil, and forget the good;
For both I humble adoration pay,
And bless the power who gives and takes away:
Long shall my faithful memory retain,
And oft recall each interval of pain.
Nay to high heav'n for greater gifts I bend,
Health I've enjoy'd, and I had once a friend.
Our labour sweet, if labour it may seem,
Allow'd the sportive and instructive scene:
Yet here no lewd or useless wit was found,
We pois'd the wav'ring sail with ballast sound.
Learning here plac'd her richer stores in view,
Or, wing'd with love, the minutes gaily flew.

"Nay, yet sublimer joys our bosoms prov'd,
Divine benevolence, by heav'n belov'd:
Wan meagre forms, torn from impending death,
Exulting, bless'd us with reviving breath.
The shiv'ring wretch we cloth'd, the mourner cheer'd,
And sickness ceas'd to groan when we appear'd:
Unask'd, our care assists with tender art
Their bodies, nor neglects th' immortal part.

"Sometimes, in shades impierc'd by Cynthia's beam,
Whose lustre glimmer'd on the dimpled stream;
We led the sprightly dance thro' sylvan scenes,
Or trip'd, like fairies, o'er the level greens!
In every breast a gen'rous fervour glows,
Soft bliss, which innocence alone bestows!
From fragrant herbage, deck'd with pearly dews,
And flow'rets of a thousand various hues,
By w'fting gales the mingling odours fly,
And round our heads in whisp'ring breezes sigh.
Whole nature seems to heighten and improve
The holier hours of innocence and love.
Youth, wit, good nature, candour, sense combin'd,
To serve, delight, and civilize mankind,
In wisdom's lore we ev'ry heart engage,
And triumph to restore the golden age!

"Now close the blissful scene, exhausted muse,
The latest blissful scene which thou shalt choose;
Satiate with life, what joys for me remain,
Save one dear wish, to balance ev'ry pain?
To bow my head, with grief and toil opprest,
Till borne by angel-bands to everlasting rest."

Miss Kezzy Wesley was addressed by Mr. Hall, a young gentleman of good understanding, agreeable in his person, and engaging in his address. He was entered at Lincoln College as Mr. Wesley's pupil, on the 22d of January, 1731; but Mr. Wesley was totally ignorant of the matter when he first paid his addresses to his sister.* Mr. Hall

* This appears from a letter Mr. Wesley wrote to Mr. Hall, in which he mentions this circumstance.

entered into Orders while he was at Oxford; and though most of the family thought highly of him in every respect as a religious character, yet Samuel Wesley strongly doubted his sincerity. Mr. John Wesley believed him sincere and pious, but in a letter written to his mother, when Mr. Hall was at Oxford, he speaks of him as highly enthusiastic and superstitious. After he had gained the affections of the young lady he quitted her, and paid his addresses to her elder sister. The family opposed this conduct with great vehemence, especially the three brothers. But the marriage, notwithstanding, took place, and the future conduct of Mr. Hall by no means corresponded to the expectations they at first formed of him. After some years he quitted his wife, and afterwards lived in the most loose and scandalous manner. Mrs. Hall bore her trials with remarkable patience and resignation. Indeed, in this respect, she was a pattern to all christians; for she was never heard to speak ill of any person, whatever injuries she might have received.—Miss Kezzy Wesley died on the 9th of March, 1741, and Mr. Charles Wesley gives the following account of her death in a letter to his brother.

"Yesterday morning sister Kezzy died in the LORD JESUS. He finished his work, and cut it short in mercy—full of thankfulness, resignation, and love, without pain or trouble, she commended her spirit into the hands of Jesus, and fell asleep." Mrs. Hall survived all her brothers and sisters, and died in peace, July 12, 1791.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

OF HIS BROTHERS, THE REV. SAMUEL AND CHARLES WESLEY.

SECTION I.

OF THE REV. SAMUEL WESLEY, JUNIOR.

Samuel Wesley, M. A. son of Samuel and Susannah Wesley, was born about 1692,* a year or two before his parents removed to Epworth; being nearly eleven years older than his brother Mr. John Wesley, and sixteen older than Mr. Charles. He was sent to Westminster School about the beginning of the year 1704, and admitted a King's Scholar in 1707.† Before he left home, his mother, by judicious and constant instruction, had formed his mind to a knowledge and serious sense of religion; but she knew the danger of his situation at Westminster, and how exceedingly apt young persons are to be drawn aside from religion and virtue, by improper companions, and bad examples constantly before their eyes. On this account she was anxious for the preservation of his morals, as he grew up and became more exposed to the temptations of evil. After she had recovered from the shock of the fire, which destroyed all they had, and from the fury of which they saved themselves with great difficulty, she wrote to him a long letter, dated October 1709; which, for the importance

* This date of his birth is taken from a memorandum, which Mr. John Wesley wrote on the back of one of his brother's letters.

† Welsh's List of Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster, as they were elected to Christ-church, Oxford, and to Trinity College, Cambridge, page 91.

of the matter, and the energy with which it is written, is highly deserving of preservation; but, on account of its length, we can insert only a part of it. This part of it, however, will bring forward to the view of parents an example of attention to the best interest of a child, which it will be their happiness and glory to follow.

"I hope," says she, "that you retain the impressions of your education, nor have forgot that the vows of God are upon you. You know that the first fruits are heaven's by an unalienable right; and that, as your parents devoted you to the service of the altar, so you yourself made it your choice when your father was offered another way of life for you. But have you duly considered what such a choice, and such a dedication imports? Consider well, what separation from the world! what purity! what devotion! what exemplary virtue! is required in those who are to guide others to glory. I say *exemplary;* for low, common degrees of piety are not sufficient for those of the sacred function. You must not think to live like the rest of the world; your light must so shine among men, that they may see your good works, and thereby be led to glorify your Father which is in heaven. For my part, I cannot see with what face clergymen can reprove sinners, or exhort men to lead a good life, when they themselves indulge their own corrupt inclinations, and by their practice contradict their doctrine. If the *holy Jesus* be in truth their Master, and they are really his *Embassadors*, surely it becomes them to live like his *Disciples:* and if they do not, what a sad account must they give of their stewardship.

"I would advise you, as much as possible in your present circumstances, to throw your business into a certain method; by which means you will learn to improve every precious moment, and find an unspeakable facility in the performance of your respective duties. Begin and end the day with him who is the *Alpha* and *Omega;* and if you really experience what it is to love God, you will redeem all the time you can for his more immediate service. I will tell you what rule I used to observe when I was in my fa-

ther's house, and had as little, if not less liberty than you have now: I used to allow myself as much time for recreation as I spent in private devotion; not that I always spent so much, but I gave myself leave to go so far, but no farther. So in all things else, appoint so much time for sleep, eating, company, &c. But above all things, my dear Samy, I command you; I beg, I beseech you, to be very strict in observing the Lord's day. In all things endeavour to act upon principle, and do not live like the rest of mankind, who pass through the world like straws upon a river, which are carried which way the stream or wind drives them. Often put this question to yourself, Why do I this or that? Why do I pray, read, study, use devotion? &c.—by which means you will come to such a steadiness and consistency in your words and actions, as becomes a reasonable creature and a good christian." These observations were worthy of the mother, and they were properly regarded and followed by the son.

When senior scholar at Westminster, the Bishop of Rochester * took him to his seat at Bromley in Kent, to read to him in the evenings. He was, at this time, eagerly pursuing his studies, and this circumstance, which for several reasons would have been highly gratifying to many, was to him no small mortification. From this place he wrote a Latin letter to his father, in August 1710, in which he complains heavily of the Bishop for the interruption he gave him in his learning. An extract from this letter we shall insert below,† and give the general purport of it in English

* The predecessor of Atterbury, who was not advanced to the See of Rochester till 1713.

† Speaking of the Bishop, he says, "Ille mihi, et in sacris et in profanis rebus semper erit infestissimus; studia enim intermitti cogit, quibus ro virili incubueram. Ultimo anno in Collegio agendo, ubi non mihi seniori opus est amicorum hospitio, a studiis et a schola me detraxit; non modo nullam ad utilitatem, sed ne ad miniman quidem vel utilitatis vel voluptatis specimen me vocavit. Ipse hodie foras est, aliter vix otium foret quo has scriberem. Me ex omnibus discipulis elegit, ut perlegerm ei noctu libros; me rancum, me μυστα. Gaudeo vos valetudine bona frui. Tuam et maternam

Speaking of the Bishop, he observes, "He will always be exceeding troublesome to me both in sacred and profane learning; for he interrupts the studies to which I had applied with all my might. Last year, in the midst of our business in the College, he took me off both from study and from school, not only without any benefit, but without calling me to any thing which had even the appearance of either utility or pleasure. To-day he is from home, or I should scarcely have leisure to write this letter. He chose me from all the scholars;—me, who am hoarse and short sighted, to read to him at night. I am glad you enjoy good health. I beg your's and my mother's blessing. I saw my grandmother * in the last holidays; in those which are approaching I cannot, because I am detained by an *unfriendly* friend."

He was about eighteen years old when he wrote this letter, and not yet removed from school. We may observe in it marks of a strong mind, wholly devoted to the pursuit of classical knowledge; and considering his age and situation at the time, it shews a progress in learning which does him credit.

His mother's advices had a proper effect on his mind, and were the means of preserving him from vices too common to the youth of the place. He retained his sobriety, his reverence for God, and regard for religion. In December this year he wrote to his mother, and the following extract from his letter gives a pleasing view of his simplicity, and serious attention to the state of his own heart, and the first motions of evil. "I received the sacrament," says he, "the first Sunday of this month—I am unstable as water—I frequently make good resolutions, and keep them for a time, and then grow weary of the restraint. I have one

benedictionem oro—Episcopus jussit me illius in literis mentionem facere. Da veniam subitis—Aviam ultimis festis vidi; his venientibus non possum, quia ab inimico amico detineor"

* The widow of Mr. John Wesley, of New-Inn Hall, Oxford, and niece of Dr. Thomas Fuller. She had now been a widow near forty years.

grand failing, which is, that having done my duty, I undervalue others, and think what wretches the rest of the College are compared with me. Sometimes in my relapses I cry out, *Can the Æthiopian change his skin, and the leopard his spots, then may you also do good who are accustomed to do evil:* but I answer again, *with men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible. Amen.*"

The next year, 1711, he was elected to Christ-church, Oxford; * and here, as well as at Westminster, he acquired the character of an excellent *classic* scholar. But his mind was too large, and his zeal for religion and the established church too ardent, to be confined within the bounds prescribed by the common exercises of the place, and he took an active part in some of the principal questions agitated among the literati of that time.

When he had taken his Master's degree, or perhaps before he took it, he was sent for to officiate as Usher at Westminster school; and soon afterwards he took orders, under the patronage of Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and Dean of Westminster. He became an able, judicious divine: his conduct in discharging the various duties of life, was exemplary, and did honour to his profession as a christian and a minister of the gospel. He was a man who had the nicest sense of honour and integrity; and the utmost abhorrence of duplicity and falsehood. He was humane and charitable; not only administering to the wants of the poor and afflicted, as far as his income would permit, but also using his influence with others to procure them relief. In filial affection and duty to parents, he was remarkable; no man in the same circumstances ever shone brighter than he, in this branch of christian duty, thro' the whole course of his life.

Mr. Samuel Wesley was highly esteemed by Lord Oxford, Bishop Atterbury, Mr. Pope, and several other persons among the first characters in the kingdom, for rank

* Welch's List, &c. page 95.

and literary talents. With Lord Oxford and Mr. Pope he held a friendly correspondence: with Bishop Atterbury he was in close habits of friendship. Atterbury was a man of first-rate abilities: he had a fine genius improved by study, and a spirit to exert his talents. His notions of church government were very high, and on this subject there was perfect harmony between them. The Bishop had made himself an object of hatred to Walpole and the rest of the King's ministers, by the opposition which he gave, in the House of Lords, to their measures; being generally among the protestors, and drawing up the reasons of the protests with his own hand. On the 24th of August, 1722, he was apprehended under a suspicion of being concerned in a plot to subvert the government, and bring in the Pretender. Mr. Wesley, by his intimacy with him, became an object of dislike to Walpole; and on this ground only, we believe, has of late years been accused of *Jacobitism*. But Mr. John Wesley vehemently affirmed that his brother Samuel was not disaffected to the present reigning family. And if we consider, that his father was the first who wrote in defence of the *Revolution*, and that he mentions this circumstance, apparently with pleasure, it will not appear probable that he was a *Jacobite*. As Mr. Wesley acted on principle in every part of his conduct, so the banishment of Atterbury made no change in his friendship for him. If he had full conviction of the Bishop's innocence, which is probable, it must have given him great pain, to see his friend persecuted, oppressed, and banished by the manœuvres of a Minister of the State. It is no wonder this treatment of his friend should raise his indignation to the highest pitch; which seems to have been the case, and will be some apology for the severity of his satire in some verses which he wrote on this occasion.

His own attachment to Atterbury, and opposition to Walpole, having blocked up his way to preferment at Westminster, he left his situation at this place about the year 1732, for the Free Grammar School at Tiverton, in Devon, over which he presided till his death. In 1736, he published a

quarto volume of poems, for which he obtained a numerous and respectable list of subscribers. Many of these poems possess a considerable share of excellence; the tales are admirably well told, and highly entertaining: the satire is pointed, and the moral instructive.—The following beautiful verses are a paraphrase on these words in the fortieth chapter of Isaiah: *All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field. The grass withereth, and the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand for ever.* They were occasioned by the death of a young lady.

THE morning flow'rs display their sweets,
And gay their silken leaves unfold;
As careless of the noon-day heats,
And fearless of the evening cold.

Nipp'd by the wind's unkindly blast,
Parch'd by the sun's directer ray,
The momentary glories waste,
The short-liv'd beauties die away.

So blooms the human face divine,
When youth its pride of beauty shows;
Fairer than spring the colours shine,
And sweeter than the virgin rose.

Or worn by slowly rolling years,
Or broke by sickness in a day;
The fading glory disappears,
The short-liv'd beauties die away.

Yet these new rising from the tomb,
With lustre brighter far shall shine,
Revive with ever-during bloom,
Safe from diseases and decline.

Let sickness blast and death devour,
If heaven must recompense our pains;
Perish the grass, and fade the flow'r,
If firm the word of God remains.

Mr. Samuel Wesley was a very high Church-man; and it must be owned, that he was extremely rigid in his principles, which is perhaps the greatest blemish in his character. It has been said, that he was prejudiced against some of the highest truths of the gospel, because many of the Dissenters insisted upon them. This is a heavy charge, and if true, would shew him to have been a man almost void of principle; but happily it appears to be without foundation.

As a high Church-man, Mr. Wesley had objections to *extempore* prayer. In the duodecimo edition of his poems are the following lines on *forms* of prayer, which, for the sprightly turn of thought they contain, I shall insert:

"FORM stints the spirit," Watts has said,
"And therefore oft is wrong;
"At best a crutch the weak to aid,
"A cumbrance to the strong."

Old David, both in prayer and praise,
A form for crutches brings;
But Watts has dignifi'd his lays,
And furnish'd him with wings.

Ev'n Watts a form for praise can choose,
For prayer, who throws it by;
Crutches to walk he can refuse,
But uses them to fly.

Mr. Samuel Wesley's principles led him to disapprove of the conduct of his brothers, Mr. John and Charles Wesley, when they became itinerant preachers; being afraid they would make a separation from the Church of England. Several letters passed between him and his brother John Wesley, both on the doctrine which he taught, and on his manner of teaching it. We shall have an opportunity of considering some of these letters when we come to that period of Mr. John Wesley's Life in which he and Mr. Charles became itinerants.

Mr. Samuel Wesley had a bad state of health some time before he left Westminster, and his removal to Tiverton did not much mend it. On the night of the 5th of November,

1739, he went to bed, seemingly as well as usual; was taken ill about three in the morning, and died at seven, after about four hours' illness. But the following letter, written to the late Mr. Charles Wesley, will state the circumstances more minutely.

"TIVERTON, *Nov.* 14, 1739.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,

"YOUR brother and my dear friend (for so you are sensible he was to me) on Monday, the 5th of November, went to bed, as he thought, as well as he had been for some time before; was seized about three o'clock in the morning very ill, *when* your sister immediately sent for Mr. Norman, and ordered the servant to call me. Mr. Norman came as quick as he possibly could, but said, as soon as he saw him, that he could not get over it, but would die in a few hours. He was not able to take any thing, nor able to speak to us, only yes, or no, to a question asked him, and that did not last half an hour. I never went from his bed-side till he expired, which was about seven the same morning. With a great deal of difficulty we persuaded your dear sister to leave the room before he died. I trembled to think how she would bear it, knowing the sincere affection and love she had for him: but, blessed be God, he hath heard and answered prayer on her behalf, and, in a great measure, calmed her spirit, though she has not yet been out of her chamber. Your brother was buried on Monday last in the afternoon—and is gone to reap the fruit of his labours—I pray God we may imitate him in all his virtues, and be prepared to follow. I should enlarge much more, but have not time; for which reason I hope you will excuse him who is under the greatest obligations to be, and really is, with the greatest sincerity, your's in all things,

AMOS MATTHEWS."

In the second edition of his poems in *duodecimo*, printed at Cambridge in 1743, there is, *some account of the author, by a friend*, prefixed to it. We know not who the writer of this account was, but as it was written soon after his

death, and by a person who seems to have been well acquainted with him, we shall give a short extract from it.

"THE author of these poems, the Rev. Mr. Samuel Wesley, frankly declares in his preface to the edition published by himself, that *it was not any opinion of excellence in the verses themselves, that occasioned their present collection and publication, but merely the profit proposed by the subscription.* If his modesty had permitted him to have been sensible of his own merit, he might, without this, or any other apology, have safely trusted them to speak for themselves: and perhaps the candid reader, upon an impartial perusal, will hardly think them inferior to the most favoured and celebrated collections of this kind.

"For though it must be owned, that a certain roughness may be observed to run through them, the vehemence and surprising vivacity of his temper not suffering him to revise, or, as he used to call it, to *tinker* what he had once finished—yet strong, just, manly sentiments every where occur, set off with all the advantage which a most luxuriant fancy, and a very uncommon compass of knowledge could adorn them with; together with a flowing and unaffected pleasantness in the more humoursome parts, beyond what could proceed from, even the happiest talent of wit, unless also accompanied with that innocence and cheerfulness of heart, which to him made life delightful in his laborious station, and endeared his conversation to all, especially his learned and ingenious friends; and many such he had, of all ranks and degrees.

"He was the son of a clergyman in Lincolnshire, from whence he was brought to Westminster-school; where having passed thro' the College as a King's Scholar, he was elected Student of Christ-church in Oxford. In both these places, by the sprightliness of his compositions, and his remarkable industry, he gained a reputation beyond most of his cotemporaries, being thoroughly and critically skilful in the learned languages, and master of the classics to a degree of perfection, perhaps not very common in this last mentioned Society, so justly famous for polite learning.

"It must be observed, in justice to his memory, that his wit and learning were the least part of this worthy man's praise. An open benevolent temper, which he had from nature, he so cultivated upon principle, that the number and the continual success of his good offices was astonishing even to his friends. He was an instance how exceedingly serviceable in life, a person of a very inferior station may be, who sets his heart upon it. His own little income was liberally made use of, and as his acquaintance whom he applied to, were always confident of his care and integrity, he never wanted means to carry on his good purposes. One particular must not be omitted: he was one of the first projectors, and a very careful and active promoter, of the first Infirmary set up at Westminster, for the relief of the sick and needy, in 1719, and he had the satisfaction to see it flourish, and propagate by its example, under the prudent management of other good persons, many pious establishments of the same kind in distant parts of the nation."

The following extracts of letters from his patron, Bishop Atterbury, are too much to his honour not to be mentioned here; they were occasioned by that fine poem on the death of Mrs. Morice, his Lordship's daughter.

"*April* 24, 1730.

"I HAVE received a poem from Mr. Morice, which I "must be insensible not to thank you for, your Elegy on "the death of Mrs. Morice—I cannot help an impulse up- "on me, to tell you under my own hand, the satisfaction "I feel, the approbation I give, the envy I bear you, for "this good work; as a poet and as a man, I thank you, I "esteem you."

"PARIS, *May* 27, 1730.

"I AM obliged to W. for what he has written on my "dear child; and take it more kindly because he could "not hope for my being ever in a condition to reward him "—though if ever I am, I will; for he has shewn an in- "variable regard for me all along in all circumstances; "and much more than some of his acquaintance, who had "ten times greater obligations."

"PARIS, *June* 30, 1730.

"THE verses you sent me touched me very nearly, and "the Latin in the front of them as much as the English "that followed. There are a great many good lines in "them, and they are writ with as much affection as poetry: "they came from the heart of the author, and he has a "share of mine in return; and if ever I come back to my "country with honour, he shall find it."

These extracts do honour to the feelings of Atterbury, as a man; and they give a noble testimony to the disinterested and unchangeable friendship of Mr. Wesley for a person whom he esteemed, and whom he thought deeply injured.

The author of, *Some Account of Mr. Samuel Wesley*, prefixed to his poems, informs us that the following inscription was put upon his grave-stone, in the church yard at Tiverton:

HERE LIE INTERR'D
The remains of the REV. SAMUEL WESLEY, A. M.
Some time Student of Christ-Church, Oxon:
A man, for his uncommon wit and learning,
For the benevolence of his temper,
And simplicity of manners,
Deservedly beloved and esteemed by all.
An excellent Preacher:
But whose best Sermon
Was, the constant example of an edifying life,
So continually and zealously employed
In acts of beneficence and charity,
That he truly followed
His blessed Master's example
In going about doing good.
Of such scrupulous integrity,
That he declined occasions of advancement in the world
Through fear of being involved in dangerous compliances,
And avoided the usual ways to preferment
As studiously as many others seek them.
Therefore, after a life spent
In the laborious employment of teaching youth,
First, for near twenty years
As one of the Ushers in *WESTMINSTER SCHOOL*;
Afterwards for seven years
As Head Master of the Free School at *TIVERTON*,
He resigned his soul to God,
Nov. 6, 1739, in the 49th year of his age.

SECTION II.

OF THE REV. CHARLES WESLEY, A. M.

MR. CHARLES WESLEY was born December 18, 1708, several weeks before his time, at Epworth in Lincolnshire; being about five years younger than his brother John Wesley, and about sixteen younger than Samuel.

He appeared dead rather than alive, when he was born. He did not cry, nor open his eyes, and was kept wrapt up in soft wool until the time when he should have been born according to the usual course of nature, and then he opened his eyes and cried.

He received the first rudiments of learning at home, under the pious care of his mother, as all the other children did. In 1716, he was sent to Westminster school, and placed under the care of his eldest brother Samuel Wesley, an high Church-man, who educated him in his own principles. He was exceedingly sprightly and active; very apt to learn, but arch and unlucky, though not ill-natured.

When he had been some years at school, Mr. R. Wesley, a gentleman of large fortune in Ireland wrote to his father and asked if he had any son named Charles; if so he would make him his heir. Accordingly a gentleman in London brought money for his education several years. But one year another gentleman called, probably Mr. Wesley himself, talked largely with him, and asked if he was willing to go with him to Ireland. Mr. Charles desired to write to his father, who answered him immediately, and left him to his own choice. He chose to stay in England. Mr. W. then found and adopted another Charles Wesley, who was the late Earl of M—n—g—n. A fair escape, says Mr. John Wesley, from whose short account of his brother we have taken this anecdote.

From this time, Mr. Charles Wesley depended chiefly on his brother Samuel till 1721, when he was admitted a

scholar of St. Peter's College, Westminster.* He was now a King's scholar; and as he advanced in age and learning, he acted dramas, and at length became Captain of the school. In 1726, he was elected to Christ's-Church, Oxford,† at which time his brother was Fellow of Lincoln-College. Mr. John Wesley gives the following account of him after he came to Oxford. "He pursued his studies diligently, and led a regular, harmless life: but if I spoke to him about religion, he would warmly answer, 'What, would you have me to be a saint all at once?' and would hear no more. I was then near three years my father's curate. During most of this time he continued much the same; but in the year 1729, I observed his letters grew much more serious, and when I returned to Oxford in November that year, I found him in great earnestness to save his soul."

Mr. Charles Wesley gives the following account of himself for the first year or two after he went to Oxford:‡ "My first year at College I lost in diversions: the next, I set myself to study. Diligence led me into serious thinking: I went to the weekly sacrament, and persuaded two or three young students to accompany me, and observe the method of study prescribed by the statutes of the university. This gained me the harmless name of *Methodist*. In half a year (after this) my brother left his curacy at Epworth, and came to our assistance. We then proceeded regularly in our studies, and in doing what good we could to the bodies and souls of men."

It was in the year 1728, in the twentieth year of his age, that he began to apply more closely to study, and to be more serious in his general deportment than usual. He

* Welch's List of Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster, as they were elected to Christ-church College, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge, p. 105.

† Ibid. p. 110.

‡ In his Letter to Dr. Chandler.

soon gave proof of his sincere desire to be truly religious, by expressing a wish to write a diary, in which he intended to register daily the state of his mind, and the actions of the day. A diary of this kind faithfully kept, is a delineation of a man's moral and religious character; it is a moral picture of the man accurately drawn. No man wishes to draw his own character in this way, in every little circumstance of life, and to review it often, but he who is desirous to think and act rightly, and to improve daily in knowledge and virtue. He knew that his brother Mr. John Wesley, had kept such a diary, and was able to give him instructions how to proceed. He therefore wrote to him in January 1729, as follows:—

"I WOULD willingly write a diary of my actions, but do not know how to go about it. What particulars am I to take notice of? Am I to give my thoughts and words, as well as deeds, a place in it? Am I to mark all the good and ill I do; and what besides? Must I not take account of my progress in learning as well as religion? What cypher can I make use of? If you would direct me to the same or like method of your own, I would gladly follow it, for I am fully convinced of the usefulness of such an undertaking. I shall be at a stand till I hear from you.

"God has thought fit, it may be to increase my wariness, to deny me at present your company and assistance. It is through him strengthening me, I trust to maintain my ground till we meet. And I hope that neither before nor after that time, I shall relapse into my former state of insensibility. It is through your means, I firmly believe, that God will establish what he has begun in me; and there is no one person I would so willingly have to be the instrument of good to me as you. It is owing, in great measure to somebody's prayers (my mother's most likely) that I come to think as I do; for I cannot tell myself, how or when I awoke out of my lethargy—only that it was not long after you went away."

The enemies of the Christian Revelation, and the friends of Deism were so much increased about this time, and were become so bold and daring in their attempts to propagate their principles in the University, as to rouse the attention of the Vice-Chancellor; who, with the consent of the Heads of Houses and Proctors, issued a programma, or edict, in opposition thereto, which was fixed up in most of the Halls of the University.

It is always pleasing to a pious mind, to trace the ways of Providence, not only as they relate to individuals, but as they affect large bodies of men collectively considered. In the case before us there is something worthy of observation. At the very time when the friends of infidelity were making so strong an effort to propagate their principles in this celebrated seminary of learning, God was preparing two or three young men, to plant a religious society in the same place; which should grow up with vigour, and spread its branches through several countries, in opposition to the baneful influence of infidelity and profaneness.

In the course of the following summer, Mr. Charles Wesley became more and more serious, and began to be singularly diligent, both in the means of grace and in his studies. His zeal for God began already to kindle, and manifest itself in exertions to do good beyond the common round of religious duties. He endeavoured to awaken an attention to religion in the minds of some of the students, and was soon successful in two or three instances, as appears from a letter which he wrote to his brother John Wesley, in May 1729.

From this and another of his letters to his brother, and from the account which he has given of himself in a letter to Dr. Chandler, the following particulars appear evident. 1. That he was awakened to a most serious and earnest desire of being truly religious and devoted to God, while his brother was at Epworth, as his father's curate. 2. That he observed an exact *method* in his studies, and in his attendance on the duties of religion; receiving the sacrament once a week. 3. That he persuaded two or three young

gentlemen to join him in these things, among whom, I believe, Morgan was one. 4. That the exact method and order which he observed in spending his time, and regulating his conduct, gained him the name of *Methodist*. Hence it appears that Mr. Charles Wesley was the first Methodist, and laid the foundation of that little society at Oxford, which afterwards made so much noise in the world: but it does not appear that any regular meetings were held, or that the members had extended their views beyond their own improvement in knowledge and virtue, until Mr. John Wesley left his curacy, and came to reside wholly at Oxford in November 1729. The beginning of this society was small, and it appeared contemptible to those around; but events have shewn, that it was big with consequences of the utmost importance to the happiness of thousands. So little do men know before hand of the designs of Providence.

Man was made for social intercourse with man. A well regulated society of a few well chosen persons, improves the understanding, invigorates the powers of the mind, strengthens our resolutions, and animates us to perseverance in the execution of our designs. These were the happy effects of the union of the two brothers in November this year, when Mr. John Wesley left Epworth, and came to reside at Oxford. They now formed a regular society, and quickened the diligence and zeal of each other in the execution of their pious purposes. About this time Mr. Charles began to take pupils. On this occasion his father wrote to him as follows, in a letter dated January 1730, when Charles had just passed the 21st year of his age.

"I HAD your last, and you may easily guess whether I were not pleased with it, both on your account and my own. You have a double advantage by your pupils, which will soon bring you more, if you will improve it, as I firmly hope you will, by taking the utmost care to form their minds to piety as well as learning. As for yourself, be-

tween Logic, Grammar, and Mathematics, be idle if you can. I give my blessing to the Bishop for having tied you a little faster, by obliging you to rub up your Arabic: and a fixed and constant method will make the whole both pleasing and delightful to you. But for all that, you must find time every day for walking, which you know you may do with advantage to your pupils; and a litle more robust exercise, now and then, will do you no harm. You are launched fairly Charles; hold up your head, and swim like a man; and when you cuff the wave beneath you, say to it, much as another hero did,

CAROLUM *vehis, et* CAROLI *fortunam.**

But always keep your eye fixed above the pole-star, and so God send you a good voyage through the troublesome sea of life, which is the hearty prayer of your loving father."

Mr. Charles Wesley and his brother John, had been always united in affection; they were now united in their pursuit of learning, their views of religion, and their endeavours to do good. Mr. Morgan was to them as another brother, and united together, they were as a *three-fold cord* which *is not easily broken*. Tho' few in number, of little reputation in the world, and unsupported by any powerful allies, yet they boldly lifted up their standard against infidelity and profaneness, the common enemies of religion and virtue. They did not, indeed, at present, make any great inroads into the enemies' territory, but they bravely kept their ground, and defended their little fort with success, against every attempt of the enemy to dislodge them. When death robbed them of Morgan, the two brothers remained unshaken in their purpose. They were the bond of union between the members of their little society at Oxford; and if one or more of these deserted them, through fear or shame, or being weary of restraint, they stood firm as a rock, persevering in their resolution to serve God and do

* Thou carriest Charles, and Charles's fortune.

good to men, without the least shadow of wavering, thro' evil report and good report, as if alike insensible to either. Happily they were not hurried on by a rash intemperate zeal in their proceedings; which is the common failing of young men. They were cautious and wary, using every prudential means in their power, to prevent the good that was in them from being evil spoken of. Charles had much more fire, and openness of temper than his brother; but he was not less cautious in this respect. If any doubts arose in his mind; or if any practice which he thought proper and commendable, seemed likely to give great offence to others, he asked the advice of those who were older and wiser than himself, how he ought to proceed. This appears from a letter which he wrote to his father in June 1731, in which he says, "On Whitsunday the whole College received the sacrament, except the servitors (for we are too well bred to communicate with them, though in the body and blood of Christ) to whom it was administered the next day; on which I was present at church, but with the canons left the sacrament to those for whom alone it was prepared. What I would beg to be resolved in is, whether or no my being assured I should give infinite scandal by staying, could sufficiently justify me in turning my back on God's ordinance. It is a question my future conduct is much concerned in, and I shall therefore earnestly wait for your decision."

Mr. Charles Wesley proceeded Master of Arts in the usual course, and thought only of spending all his days at Oxford as a tutor; for he exceedingly dreaded entering into Holy Orders." * In 1735, Mr. John Wesley yielded to the pressing solicitations of Mr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Burton, and some others, to go to Georgia as a missionary, to preach to the Indians, and he prevailed on his brother Charles to accompany him. Their brother Samuel consented that Mr. John Wesley should go, but vehemently

* His Letter to Dr. Chandler.

opposed the design of Charles to accompany him. But his opposition had no effect, for Mr. Charles engaged himself as Secretary to Mr. Oglethorpe, and also as Secretary to Indian affairs, and in this character he went to Georgia. A little before they left England, Dr. Burton suggested that it might be well if Mr. Charles was ordained before he left this country. His brother John over-ruled his inclination in this thing also, and he was ordained Deacon by Dr. Potter, Bishop of Oxford; and the Sunday following, Priest, by Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London.*

On the 22d of October, this year, 1735, they sailed from Gravesend, and from this time the two brothers were perfectly associated in their designs, labours, and dangers. Their lives, therefore, are so closely connected, and the events of the one so much involved in those of the other, that, as it certainly would not be consistent with our plan in this work, so it does not seem necessary to proceed any further with a detailed account of the life of Mr. Charles Wesley. Many important and interesting circumstances of it will occur in Mr. John Wesley's Journals, which commence from this period. And those who wish for further information, may have recourse to Dr. Whitehead's memoir of him, published in his Life of Mr. John Wesley, which memoir, perhaps, may hereafter appear in a separate publication. Suffice it then f[illegible]s to add the following particulars. After his return from America, he for many years chiefly travelled with his brother thro' various parts of Britain and Ireland, preaching the word of life, and helping to form and visit the societies. His word, especially in those his younger days, was frequently attended with a very extraordinary power, and was a mean of awakening many hundreds, if not even thousands out of the sleep of sin, and bringing them to experience and evidence repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. This was the case, especially at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Sunderland, and the

* His Letter to Dr. Chandler.

parts adjacent; in Staffordshire, Cornwall, at Dublin, Cork, and other parts of Ireland. After this, having married Miss Sarah Gwynne, a lady of considerable family in the county of Brecon, South Wales, he chiefly divided his labours between London and Bristol, in which cities he was rendered useful in the conversion and spiritual profit of many souls. As a *Preacher*, he was mighty in the Scriptures, and possessed a remarkable talent of uttering the most striking truths with simplicity, force, and brevity. His discourses were not dry and systematic, but flowed from the present views and feelings of his own mind. And they were sometimes truly apostolic, forcing conviction on the hearers in spite of the most determined opposition.

As a *Poet*, he greatly excelled. It is of his poetical compositions that Mr. John W. says, in the Preface to his large Hymn Book, "In these hymns there is no doggerel, no botches, nothing put in to patch up the rhyme, no feeble expletives. Here is nothing turgid and bombast on the one hand, or low and creeping on the other. Here are no cant expressions, no words without meaning. Here are (allow me to say) both the purity, the strength, and the elegance of the English language, and, at the same time, the utmost simplicity and plainness, suited to every capacity."

Mr. Charles Wesley wrote short hymns on most of the remarkable passages of the Old and New Testament, and very largely on some parts of both. His *Hymns and Sacred Poems* are an invaluable treasure. There is not a point of Divinity, doctrinal, experimental, or practical, which he has not illustrated in verse, that for purity, and often for sublimity, may vie with any thing in the English language. But they especially evidence that the mind of the writer was deeply impressed with his subject, and fully acquainted with the religion of the heart. In these short hymns, he has expressed his opinion on the leading doctrines of the Gospel, with great energy and beauty.

The kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed.
Matt. xiii. 31.

" A GRAIN of grace may we not see,
This moment, and the next a tree?
Or MUST we patiently attend,
To find the precious seed ascend?
Our Lord declares it MUST be so;
And striking deep our root we grow,
And lower sink, and higher rise,
Till Christ transplant us to the skies."

The following comment on a much disputed passage, shews his humanity and benevolence.

To-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me.
1 Sam. xxviii. 19.

" WHAT do these solemn words portend?
A gleam of hope when life shall end:
'Thou and thy sons, though slain, shall be
To-morrow in repose with me!'
Not in a state of hellish pain,
If Saul with Samuel doth remain;
Not in a state of damn'd despair,
If loving Jonathan be there."

His lively turn of thought did not leave him in his old age, as the following lines will testify.

The Man of Fashion: Written in 1784.

" WHAT is a modern man of fashion?
A man of taste and dissipation:
A busy man, without employment,
A happy man, without enjoyment:
Who squanders all his time and treasures,
On empty joys and tasteless pleasures;
Visits, attendance, and attention,
And courtly arts too low to mention,

"In sleep, and dress, and sport and play,
He throws his worthless life away;
Has no opinion of his own,
But takes from leading Beaux the ton;
With a disdainful smile or frown,
He on the rif-raf crowd looks down:
The world polite, his friends and he,
And all the rest are nobody!

"Taught by the great his smiles to sell,
And how to write, and how to spell;
The great his oracles he makes,
Copies their vices, and mistakes;
Custom pursues, his only rule,
And lives an ape, and dies a fool."

Had Mr. Charles Wesley engaged in the higher walks of verse, there is no doubt but he would have been esteemed a considerable poet, even by those who now despise his hymns. He chose the most excellent way, the writing of hymns for the instruction and edification of the many, rather than devote all his life in attempts to please the fancy of the few. Some of his hymns are certainly among the best pieces in that species of composition.

Mr. Charles Wesley had a weak body, and a poor state of health, during the greatest part of his life. He laid the foundation of both, at Oxford, by too close application to study and abstinence from food. He rode much on horseback, which, probably, contributed to lengthen out life to a good old age. In his last sickness, his body was indeed reduced to the most extreme state of weakness. He possessed that state of mind which he had always been pleased to see in others, unaffected humility, and holy resignation to the will of God. He had no transports of joy, but solid hope and unshaken confidence in Christ, which kept his mind in perfect peace. A few days before his death, he composed the following lines. Having been silent and quiet for some time, he called Mrs. Wesley to him, and bid her write as he dictated:

" IN age and feebleness extreme,
Who shall a sinful worm redeem?
Jesus, my only hope thou art,
Strength of my failing flesh and heart:
O could I catch a smile from thee,
And drop into eternity! "

He died, March 29, 1788, aged seventy-nine years and three months; and was buried in April 5, in Marybone church-yard, at his own desire. The pall was supported by eight clergymen of the Church of England. On his tomb-stone are the following lines, written by himself on the death of one of his friends: they could not be more aptly applied to any person than to Mr. Charles Wesley.

" WITH poverty of spirit bless'd,
Rest, happy saint, in Jesus rest;
A sinner sav'd, through grace forgiv'n,
Redeem'd from earth to reign in heav'n!
Thy labours of unwearied love,
By thee forgot, are crown'd above;
Crown'd, through the mercy of thy Lord,
With a free, full, immense reward! "

" Mr. Wesley " (observes Dr. Whitehead) " was of a lively disposition; of great frankness and integrity, and generous and steady in his friendships. His love of simplicity, and utter abhorrence of hypocrisy, and even of affectation in the professors of religion, made him some times appear severe on those who assumed a consequence, on account of their experience, or, were pert and forward in talking of themselves and others. These persons were sure of meeting with a reproof from him, which some, perhaps, might call precipitate and imprudent, though it was evidently founded on a knowledge of the human heart. In conversation he was pleasing, instructive, and cheerful; and his observations were often seasoned with wit and humour. His religion was genuine and unaffected. As a minister, he was familiarly acquainted with every part of Divinity; and his mind was furnished with an uncommon knowledge of the Scriptures. As a husband, a father, and

a friend, his character was amiable. Mrs. Wesley brought him five children, of whom two sons and a daughter are still living. The sons discovered a taste for music, and a fine musical ear, at an early period of infancy, which excited general amazement; and are now justly admired by the best judges for their talents in that pleasing art.

From a review of the life of Mr. Charles Wesley, it will appear evident, that the Methodists are greatly indebted to him for his unwearied labours and great usefulness at the first formation of the Societies, when every step was attended with difficulty and danger. And being dead he yet speaketh by his numerous and excellent hymns, written for the use of the Societies, which still continue to be the means of daily edification and comfort to thousands.

CHAPTER IV.

AN ACCOUNT OF

THE REV. JOHN WESLEY,

FROM HIS BIRTH TO THE YEAR 1730.

WHEN we view Mr. Wesley rising into public notice, from the bosom of a family which had long been venerable for Christian knowledge and piety, the mind feels a prepossession in his favour, and our expectation is raised of something great and good from him. As we proceed to examine his education, and the principles instilled into his mind, at an early period of life, we shall see a solid foundation laid of sound knowledge and genuine piety. But that every one may judge for himself in this matter, we shall endeavour to trace, step by step, the circumstances of his early life, during the period mentioned in this chapter.

He was the second son of Samuel and Susannah Wesley, and born at Epworth in Lincolnshire, on the 17th of June 1703, O. S. There has, indeed, been some variations in the accounts given of his age by different persons of the family; but the certificate of it, sent him by his father a little before he was ordained Priest, to satisfy the Bishop of his age, puts the matter beyond a doubt. The original lies before us, and the following is a faithful copy.

"EPWORTH, *August* 23, 1728.

"JOHN WESLEY, M. A. Fellow of Lincoln-College, was twenty-five years old the 17th of June last, having been baptized a few hours after his birth, by me,

"SAMUEL WESLEY, *Rector of Epworth.*"

When he was nearly six years old, a calamity happened, which threatened the whole family with destruction, and him in particular; his parents for a short time believing, that he was actually consuming in the flames of their house. But his mother's letter to the Rev. Mr. Hoole, will be the best account of this matter. It is dated August 24, 1709, and is as follows:

"REV. SIR,

"MY master is much concerned that he was so unhappy as to miss of seeing you at Epworth; and he is not a little troubled that the great hurry of business about building his house will not afford him leisure to write. He has, therefore, ordered me to satisfy your desire as well as I can, which I shall do by a simple relation of matters of fact, though I cannot, at this distance of time, recollect every calamitous circumstance that attended our strange reverse of fortune. On Wednesday night, February the 9th, between the hours of eleven and twelve, our house took fire, by what accident God only knows. It was discovered by some sparks falling from the roof upon a bed where one of the children (Hetty) lay, and burnt her feet. She immediately ran to our chamber and called us; but I believe no one heard her, for Mr. Wesley was alarmed by a cry of

fire in the street, upon which he rose, little imagining that his own house was on fire; but, on opening his door, he found it was full of smoke, and that the roof was already burnt through. He immediately came to my room (as I was very ill, he lay in a separate room from me) and bid me and my two eldest daughters rise quickly and shift for our lives, the house being all on fire. Then he ran and burst open the nursery door, and called the maid to bring out the children. The two little ones lay in bed with her; the three others in another bed. She snatched up the youngest, and bid the rest follow, which they did, except Jacky. When we were got into the hall, and saw ourselves surrounded with flames, and that the roof was on the point of falling, we concluded ourselves inevitably lost, as Mr. Wesley in his fright had forgot the keys of the doors above stairs. But he ventured up stairs once more, and recovered them a minute before the stair-case took fire. When we opened the street door, the strong North-east wind drove the flames in with such violence, that none could stand against them: Mr. Wesley, only, had such presence of mind as to think of the garden-door, out of which he helped some of the children; the rest got through the windows. I was not in a condition to climb up to the windows; nor could I get to the garden door. I endeavoured three times to force my passage through the street door, but was as often beat back by the fury of the flames. In this distress I besought our blessed Saviour to preserve me, if it were his will, from that death, and then waded through the fire, naked as I was, which did me no farther harm than a little scorching my hands and face.

"While Mr. Wesley was carrying the children into the garden, he heard the child in the nursery cry out miserably for help, which extremely affected him; but his affliction was much increased, when he had several times attempted the stairs then on fire, and found they would not bear his weight. Finding it was impossible to get near him, he gave him up for lost, and kneeling down, he commended his soul to God, and left him, as he thought, perishing in the

flames. But the boy seeing none come to his help, and being frightened, the chamber and bed being on fire, he climbed up to the casement, where he was soon perceived by the men in the yard, who immediately got up and pulled him out, just in the article of time that the roof fell in, and beat the chamber to the ground. Thus, by the infinite mercy of Almighty God, our lives were all preserved by little less than miracle, for there passed but a few minutes between the first alarm of fire, and the falling of the house."

Mr. John Wesley's account of what happened to himself, varies a little from this relation given by his mother. "I believe," says he, "it was just at that time (when they thought they heard him cry) I waked: for I did not cry as they imagined, unless it was afterwards. I remember all the circumstances as distinctly as though it were but yesterday. Seeing the room was very light, I called to the maid to take me up. But none answering, I put my head out of the curtains, and saw streaks of fire on the top of the room. I got up and ran to the door, but could get no further, all the floor beyond it being in a blaze. I then climbed upon a chest which stood near the window: one in the yard saw me, and proposed running to fetch a ladder. Another answered, there will not be time; but I have thought of another expedient. Here, I will fix myself against the wall: lift a light man, and set him on my shoulders. They did so, and he took me out of the window. Just then the roof fell; but it fell inward, or we had all been crushed at once. When they brought me into the house where my father was, he cried out, 'Come, neighbours! let us kneel down! let us give thanks to God! He has given me all my eight children: let the house go, I am rich enough!'"

"The next day, as he was walking in the garden, and surveying the ruins of the house, he picked up part of a leaf of his Polyglot Bible, on which just those words were legible. *Vade; vende omnia quæ habes, et attolle crucem, et sequere me. Go; sell all that thou hast; and take up thy cross and follow me.*" *

* Arminian Magazine, vol. i. page 92.

The peculiar danger and wonderful escape of this child, excited a good deal of attention and inquiry at the time, especially among the friends and relations of his family. His brother Samuel, being then at Westminster, writes to his mother on this occasion in the following words, complaining that they did not inform him of the particulars: "I have not heard a word from the country, since the first letter you sent me after the fire. I am quite ashamed to go to any of my relations. They ask me, whether my father means to leave Epworth? whether he is building his house? whether he has lost all his books and papers? if nothing was saved? what was the lost child, a boy or a girl? what was its name? &c. To all of which I am forced to answer, I cannot tell; I do not know; I have not heard—I have asked my father some of these questions, but am still an ignoramus."

All the children received the first rudiments of learning from their mother, who, as we have seen, was admirably qualified for this office in her own family. We can find no evidence that the boys were ever put to any school in the country, their mother having a very bad opinion of the common methods of instructing and governing children. But she was not only attentive to their progress in learning, she likewise endeavoured to give them, as early as possible, just and useful notions of religion. Her mind seems to have been led to a more than ordinary attention for Mr. Wesley in this respect. In one of her private meditations, when he was near eight years old, she mentions him in a manner that shews how much her heart was engaged in forming his mind for religion. We shall transcribe the whole meditation for the benefit of the reader.

"Evening, May 17, 1711. *Son John.*

"What shall I render to the Lord for all his mercies? The little unworthy praise that I can offer, is so mean and contemptible an offering, that I am even ashamed to tender it. But, Lord, accept it for the sake of Christ, and pardon the deficiency of the sacrifice.

" I would offer thee myself, and all that thou hast given me; and I would resolve, O give me grace to do it, that the residue of my life shall be all devoted to thy service. And I do intend to be more *particularly* careful of the soul of this child, that thou hast so mercifully provided for, than ever I have been; that I may do my endeavour to instil into his mind the principles of thy true religion, and virtue. Lord, give me grace to do it sincerely and prudently, and bless my attempts with good success."

Her good endeavours were not without the desired effect; for it is believed it was about this time, being eight years old, that he began to receive the sacrament.

In the month of April 1712, he had the small-pox, together with four others of the children. His father was then in London, to whom his mother writes thus: " Jack has bore his disease bravely, like a man, and indeed like a Christian, without any complaint; though he seemed angry at the small-pox when they were sore, as we guest by his looking sourly at them, for he never said any thing." In 1714, he was placed at the Charter-House, and became distinguished for his diligence and progress in learning; so that, in 1719, when his father was hesitating in what situation he should place Charles, his brother Samuel writes thus of him: " My brother Jack, I can faithfully assure you, gives you no manner of discouragement from breeding your third son a scholar." Two or three months afterwards he mentions him again, in a letter to his father: " Jack is with me, and a brave boy, learning Hebrew as fast as he can."

He was now sixteen, and the next year was elected to Christ-church, Oxford. Here he pursued his studies with great advantage, under the direction of Doctor Wigan, a gentleman eminent for his classical knowledge. Mr. Wesley's natural temper in his youth was gay and sprightly, with a turn for wit and humour. When he was about twenty-one years of age, " he appeared, (as Mr. Badcock has observed) the very sensible and acute Collegian—

a young fellow of the finest classical taste, of the most liberal and manly sentiments." * His perfect knowledge of the classics gave a smooth polish to his wit, and an air of superior elegance to all his compositions. He had already begun to amuse himself occasionally with writing verses, though most of his poetical pieces at this period, were, we believe, either imitations or translations of the Latin. Some time in this year, however, he wrote an imitation of the 65th Psalm, which he sent to his father, who says, "I like your verses on the 65th Psalm, and would not have you bury your talent."

In the summer of this year, his brother, Mr. Samuel Wesley, broke his leg, and, when he was recovering, wrote to Mr. John Wesley at Oxford, informing him of his misfortune. Mr Wesley's answer is dated the 17th of June, when he was just twenty-one years of age. The letter shews his lively and pleasant manner of writing when young.

"I believe (says he) I need not use many arguments to shew I am sorry for your misfortune, though at the same time I am glad, you are in a fair way of recovery. If I had heard of it from any one else, I might probably have pleased you with some impertinent consolations; but the way of your relating it is a sufficient proof, that they are what you don't stand in need of. And, indeed, if I understand you rightly, you have more reason to thank God that you did not break both, than to repine because you have broke one leg. You have undoubtedly heard the story of the Dutch seaman, who having broke one of his legs by a fall from the main-mast, instead of condoling himself, thanked God that he had not broke his neck. I scarce know whether your first news vexed me, or your last news pleased me more: but I can assure you, that though I did not cry for grief at the former, I did for joy at the latter part of your letter. The two things which I most wished

* Westminster Magazine.

for of almost any thing in the world, were to see my mother, and Westminster once again, and to see them both together was so far above my expectations, that I almost looked upon it as next to an impossibility. I have been so very frequently disappointed when I had set my heart on any pleasure, that I will never again depend on any before it comes. However, I shall be obliged to you if you will tell me, as near as you can, how soon my uncle is expected in England,* and my mother in London."

Toward the close of this year, Mr. Wesley began to think of entering into Deacons' Orders; and this led him to reflect on the importance of the ministerial office, the motives of entering into it, and the necessary qualifications for it. On examining the step he intended to take, through all its consequences to himself and others, it appeared of the greatest magnitude, and made so deep an impression on his mind, that he became more serious than usual, and applied himself with more attention to subjects of divinity. Some doubts arising in his mind on the motives which ought to influence a man in taking Holy Orders, he proposed them to his father, with a frankness that does great credit to the integrity of his heart. His father's answer is dated, January 26, 1725. "As to what you mention of entering into Holy Orders, it is, indeed, a great work, and I am pleased to find you think it so. As to the motives you take notice of, my thoughts are; if it is no harm to desire getting into that office, even as Eli's sons, *to eat a piece of bread;* yet certainly a desire and intention to lead a stricter life, and a belief that one should do so, is a better reason: though this should, by all means, be begun before, or ten to one it will deceive us afterwards. But if a man

* The uncle here mentioned was his mother's only brother. He was in the service of the East-India Company, and the public prints having stated that he was returning home in one of the Company's ships, Mrs. Wesley came to London when the ship arrived, to meet him. But the information was false, and she disappointed. *Private Papers.*

be unwilling and undesirous to enter into Orders, it is easy to guess whether he can say so much as, with common honesty, that he trusts he is "moved to it by the Holy Ghost." But the principal spring and motive, to which all the former should be only secondary, must certainly be the glory of God, and the service of his church in the edification of our neighbour. And woe to him who, with any meaner leading view, attempts so sacred a work." He then mentions the qualifications necessary for Holy Orders, and answers a question which his son asked. "You ask me which is the best Commentary on the Bible? I answer, the Bible itself. For the several Paraphrases and Translations of it in the Polyglot, compared with the Original, and with one another, are, in my opinion, to an honest, devout, industrious, and humble man, infinitely preferable to any comment I ever saw. But Grotius is the best, for the most part, especially on the Old Testament." He then hints to his son, that he thought it too soon for him to take Orders; and encourages him to work and write while he could. "You see," says he, "time has shaken me by the hand; and death is but a little behind him. My eyes and heart are now almost all I have left; and I bless God for them."

His mother wrote to him in February on the same subject, and seemed desirous that he should enter into Orders as soon as possible. "I think," says she, "the sooner you are a Deacon the better, because it may be an inducement to greater application in the study of practical divinity, which of all other studies I humbly conceive to be the best for Candidates for Orders." His mother was remarkable for taking every opportunity to impress a serious sense of religion on the minds of her children; and she was too watchful to let the present occasion slip without improvement. "The alteration of your temper" (says she, in the same letter) "has occasioned me much speculation. I, who am apt to be sanguine, hope it may proceed from the operations of God's Holy Spirit, that, by taking off your relish for earthly enjoyments, he may prepare and dispose your mind for a more serious and close application to things

of a more sublime and spiritual nature. If it be so, happy are you if you cherish those dispositions; and now, in good earnest, resolve to make religion the business of your life; for, after all, that is the one thing that, strictly speaking, is necessary: all things beside are comparatively little to the purposes of life. I heartily wish you would now enter upon a strict examination of yourself, that you may know whether you have a reasonable hope of salvation by Jesus Christ. If you have, the satisfaction of knowing it will abundantly reward your pains: if you have not, you will find a more reasonable occasion for tears than can be met with in a tragedy. This matter deserves great consideration by all, but especially by those designed for the ministry; who ought, above all things to make their own calling and election sure, lest after they have preached to others, they themselves should be cast away."

These advices and exhortations of his parents had a proper influence on his mind. He began to apply himself with diligence to the study of divinity in his leisure hours, and became more desirous of entering into Orders. He wrote twice to his father on this subject. His father answered him in March, and informed him that he had changed his mind, and was then inclined that he should take Orders that summer: "But in the first place," says he, "if you love yourself or me, pray heartily."

The books which, in the course of his reading this summer, before his ordination, had the greatest influence both on his judgment and affections, were Thomas a Kempis and Bishop Taylor's rules of holy living and dying. Not that he implicitly received every thing they taught; but they roused his attention to the spirit and tendency of the Christian Religion, and thoroughly convinced him that its influence over the heart and life is much more extensive than he had before imagined.

Having now determined to devote himself wholly to God, his letters to his parents carried a savour of religion, which before they had wanted; this made his father say to him in a letter, August the 2d, "If you be but what you

write, you and I shall be happy, and you will much alleviate my misfortune." He soon found that his son was not double minded. The time of his Ordination now drew near. His father wrote to him on this subject, in a letter dated September the 7th, in which he says, "God fit you for your great work. Fast, watch, and pray; believe, love, endure, and be happy; towards which you shall never want the most ardent prayers of your affectionate father." In preparing for his Ordination he found some scruples on his mind respecting the damnatory clause in the Athanasian Creed; which he proposed to his father, who afterwards gave him his opinion upon it. Having prepared himself with the most conscientious care for the ministerial office, he was ordained Deacon on Sunday the 19th of this month, by Dr. Potter, then Bishop of Oxford.

Mr. Wesley's Ordination supplied him with an additional motive to prosecute the study of Divinity; which he did, by directing his inquiries into the evidences and reasonableness of the Christian Religion. He wrote to his mother on this subject, November the 3d, who in her answer dated the 10th, encourages him to persevere in such investigations without any fear of being injured by them. "I highly approve," says she, "of your care to search into the grounds and reasons of our most holy Religion; which you may do, if your intention be pure, and yet retain the integrity of your faith. Nay, the more you study on that subject, the more reason you will find to depend on the veracity of God; inasmuch as your perception of him will be clearer, and you will more plainly discover the congruity there is between the ordinances and precepts of the Gospel, and right reason. Nor is it a hard matter to prove that the whole system of Christianity is founded thereon."

It was, however, but a small portion of his time that Mr. Wesley employed in these studies. His private Diary shews how diligent he was in the study of the Classics, and other books in different branches of Science, and in the performance of his academical exercises. The time also drew near when it was expected that the election of a Fellow of

Lincoln-College would take place; with a view to which his friends had been exerting themselves in his favour all the summer.* When Dr. Morley, the Rector, was spoke to on the subject, he said, "I will inquire into Mr. Wesley's character." He did so, and gave him leave to stand a candidate. He afterwards became his friend in that business, and used all the influence he had in his favour. His father, in a letter of July, says, "I waited on Dr. Morley, and found him more civil than ever. I will write to the Bishop of Lincoln again, and to your brother Samuel the next post. Study hard lest your *opponents* beat you." In another letter, speaking of Dr. Morley, he says, "You are infinitely obliged to that generous man."

In election business, the passions of men generally run high, and every circumstance is laid hold of, which can by any means be so managed as to influence the public opinion against an opponent. And Mr. Wesley's late seriousness did not escape the banter and ridicule of his adversaries at Lincoln, on this occasion. In reference to this his father observes in a letter of August; "As for the Gentlemen Candidates you write of—Does any body think that the devil has no agents left? It is a very callow virtue, sure, that cannot bear being laughed at. I think our Captain and Master endured something more for us, before he entered into glory: and unless we follow his steps, in vain do we hope to share that glory with him. Nor shall any who sincerely endeavour to serve him, either by turning others to righteousness, or keeping them steadfast in it, lose their reward." And in his letter of October the 19th, he exhorts him to bear patiently what was said of him at Lincoln; "But be sure," says he, "never to return the like treatment to your enemy. You and I have hitherto done the best we could in that affair; do you continue to do the same, and rest the whole with Providence."

* His father mentions it in his Letter of the 26th of January of this year.

His mother writes to him on this occasion more in the way of encouragement and caution. "If it be," says she, "a weak virtue that cannot bear being laughed at, I am sure it is a strong and well confirmed virtue, that can stand the test of a brisk buffoonery. I doubt too many people, though well inclined, have yet made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience merely because they could not bear raillery. Some young persons have a natural excess of bashfulness; others are so tender of what they call honour, that they cannot endure to be made a jest of. I would, therefore, advise those who are in the beginning of a christian course, to shun the company of profane wits, as they would the plague or poverty; and never to contract an intimacy with any, but such as have a good sense of religion."

But notwithstanding the warm opposition which his opponents made against him, Mr. Wesley's general good character for learning and diligence, gave such firmness and zeal to his friends, that on Thursday, March 17, 1726, he was elected Fellow of Lincoln-College. His father very emphatically expresses his satisfaction on this occasion, in a letter of the first of April.—"I have both your's since your election: in both, you express yourself as becometh you. What will be my own fate before the summer be over, God knows; *sed passi graviora.*—Wherever I am, my Jack is Fellow of Lincoln." His mother in a letter of March the 30th, tells him in her usual strain of piety, "I think myself obliged to return great thanks to Almighty God, for giving you good success at Lincoln. Let whoever he pleased be the instrument, to him and to him alone the glory appertains."

The Monday following his election, being March the 21st, he wrote to his brother Samuel, expressing his gratitude for the assistance he had given him in that affair. With this letter he sent two or three copies of verses, which seem, by what he says of them, to have been written at an early period. "I have not yet," says he, "been able to meet with one or two gentlemen, from whom I am in hopes of getting two or three copies of verses. The most tolerable of my own,

if any such there were, you probably received from Leyburn. Some of those I had besides, I have sent here; and shall be very glad if they are capable of being so corrected, as to be of any service to you."—He sent three specimens of his poetry with this letter: the two following we shall insert; which considered as hasty productions, the mere amusement of an hour or two, and sent in their rough state, we are confident every good judge will pronounce excellent, notwithstanding the modesty with which he speaks of them.

HORACE, Lib. I. Ode XXII.

INTEGRITY needs no defence;
The man who trusts to innocence,
Nor wants the darts Numidians throw,
Nor arrows of the Parthian bow.

Secure o'er Lybia's sandy seas,
Or hoary Caucasus he strays,
O'er regions scarcely known to fame,
Wash'd by Hydaspes' fabled stream.

While void of cares, of nought afraid,
Late in the Sabine woods I stray'd;
On Sylvia's lips, while pleas'd I sung,
How love and soft persuasion hung!

A rav'nous wolf intent on food,
Rush'd from the covert of the wood;
Yet dar'd not violate the grove
Secur'd by innocence and love.

Nor Mauritania's sultry plain,
So large a savage does contain;
Nor e'en so huge a monster treads
Warlike Apulia's beechen shades.

Place me where no revolving sun
Does o'er his radiant circle run;
Where clouds and damps alone appear,
And poison the unwholesome year:

Place me, in that effulgent day,
Beneath the sun's directer ray;
No change from its fix'd place shall move
The basis of my lasting love.

IN IMITATION OF

Quis desiderio sit Pudor, &c.

SENT TO A GENTLEMAN ON THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER.

WHAT shame shall stop our flowing tears?
What end shall our just sorrows know?
Since fate, relentless to our prayers,
Has giv'n the long destructive blow!

Ye muses, strike the sounding string,
In plaintive strains his loss deplore;
And teach an artless voice to sing
The great, the bounteous, now no more!

For him the wise and good shall mourn,
While late records his fame declare;
And oft as rolling years return,
Shall pay his tomb a grateful tear.

Ah! what avail their plaints to thee?
Ah! what avails his fame declar'd?
Thou blam'st, alas! the just decree
Whence virtue meets its just reward.

Though sweeter sounds adorn'd thy tongue
Than Thracian Orpheus whilom play'd;
When list'ning to the morning song
Each tree bow'd down its leafy head:

Never! ah, never from the gloom
Of unrelenting Pluto's sway,
Could the thin shade again resume
Its ancient tenement of clay.

Indulgent Patience, heav'n-born guest,
Thy healing wings around display;
Thou gently calm'st the stormy breast,
And driv'st the tyrant grief away.

Corroding care and eating pain,
By just degrees thy influence own;
And lovely, lasting Peace, again
Resumes her long deserted throne.

His parents now invited him to spend some time with them in the country. Accordingly he left Oxford in April, and stayed the whole summer at Epworth and Wroote. During this time he usually read prayers and preached twice on the Lord's-day, and otherways assisted his father as occasion required. His time here was by no means wasted; he still pursued his studies, had frequent opportunities of conversing with his parents on subjects highly interesting and instructive, and kept a regular Diary of what passed. He often takes notice of the particular subjects discussed in their various conversations, and mentions the practical observations his parents made, and sometimes adds his own. Among others, were the following: how to increase our faith, our hope, and our love of God: prudence, simplicity, sincerity, pride, vanity: wit, humour, fancy, courtesy, and general usefulness. His parents made such observations as reflection and long experience had suggested to them, and he carefully minuted down such rules and maxims as appeared to him important.

Mr. Wesley returned to Oxford on the 21st of September, and resumed his usual course of studies. His literary character was now established in the University: he was acknowledged by all parties to be a man of talents, and an excellent critic in the learned languages. His compositions were distinguished by an elegant simplicity of style, and justness of thought, that strongly marked the excellence of his classical taste. His skill in logic, or the art of reasoning, was universally known and admired. The high opinion that was entertained of him, in these respects, was soon

publicly expressed, by choosing him Greek Lecturer and Moderator of the Classes, on the 7th of November; though he had only been elected Fellow of the College in March, was little more than twenty-three years of age, and had not yet proceeded Master of Arts.

We have been the more exact in bringing forward all the particulars concerning him, from the latter end of the year 1724, to the present time, because they have been very imperfectly known, and some of them very erroneously stated by some of his Biographers. It is also evident, that an accurate knowledge of these particulars, does him credit: the correspondence relative to his Ordination, gives the reader a view of the simplicity and integrity of his heart, in the most artless and undisguised manner, and does infinite honour to the rational affection and pious care of his parents: it likewise points out to us the kind of advice which had the chief influence in forming his religious character: and the circumstances of his preferment at Lincoln-College, give the most unequivocal proof of his merit, and of the high reputation he had acquired in the University for learning, diligence, and attention to discipline, at this early period of life.

It appears from what has already been said, that Mr. Wesley did not devote all his time to the severer studies, but occasionally paid his court to the Muses, with good success. His Paraphrase on the first eighteen verses of the 104th Psalm, is a more finished piece than any thing he had written before. He began to write it on the 19th of August this year, when at Epworth; and for its beauty and excellence, it deserves to be printed with accuracy. It is therefore transcribed from the original manuscript.

Verse 1. Upborne aloft on ventrous wing,
While, spurning earthly themes, I soar
Through paths untrod before,
What God, what Seraph shall I sing?
Whom but thee should I proclaim,
Author of this wond'rous frame?

Eternal uncreated Lord,
Enshrin'd in glory's radiant blaze!
At whose prolific voice, whose potent word,
Commanded, nothing swift retir'd, and worlds began their race.

Verse 2. Thou, brooding o'er the realms of night,
Th' unbottom'd infinite abyss,
Bad'st the deep her rage surcease,
And said'st, Let there be light!
Æthereal light thy call obey'd,
Glad she left her native shade,
Through the wide void her living waters past;
Darkness turn'd his murmuring head,
Resign'd the reins, and trembling fled,
The crystal waves roll'd on, and filled the ambient waste.

2. In light, effulgent robe, array'd
Thou left'st the beauteous realms of day;
The golden towers inclin'd their head,
As their Sove'rign took his way.
3, 4. The all-incircling bounds (a shining train,
Minist'ring flames around him flew)
Through the vast profound he drew,
When, lo! sequacious to his fruitful hand,
Heaven o'er th' uncolour'd void, her azure curtain threw.

Lo! marching o'er the empty space,
The fluid stores in order rise
With adamantine chains of liquid glass,
To bind the new-born fabric of the skies.
3. Downward th' Almighty Builder rode,
Old Chaos groan'd beneath the God,
Sable clouds his pompous car,
Harnest winds before him ran,
Proud to wear their Maker's chain,
And told, with hoarse resounding voice, his coming from afar.

5. Embryon earth the signal knew,
And rear'd from night's dark womb her infant head,
6. Though yet prevailing waves her hills o'erspread
And stain'd their sickly face with pallid hue.
7. But when loud thunders the pursuit began,
Back the affrighted spoilers ran;
8. In vain aspiring hills opposed their race,
O'er hills and vales with equal haste,

The flying squadrons past,
Till safe within the walls of their appointed place:
9. There firmly fix'd, their sure enclosures stand,
Unconquerable bounds of ever-during sand!
10. He spake! From the tall mountain's wounded side,
Fresh springs roll'd down their silver tide:
O'er the glad vales the shining wanderers stray,
Soft murmuring as they flow,
11. While in their cooling wave, inclining low
The untaught natives of the field their parching thirst allay.
12. High seated on the dancing sprays,
Checquering with varied light their parent streams,
The feather'd quires attune their artless lays
Safe from the dreaded heat of solar beams.

13. Genial show'rs at his command,
Pour plenty o'er the barren land:
Labouring with parent throes,
14. See! the teeming hills disclose
A new birth: see cheerful green,
Transitory, pleasing scene,
O'er the smiling landskip glow,
And gladden all the vale below.
15. Along the mountain's craggy brow,
Amiably dreadful now!
See the clasping vine dispread
Her gently-rising verdant head;
See the purple grape appear,
Kind relief of human care!

16. Instinct with circling life, thy skill
Uprear'd the olive's loaded bough;
What time on Lebanon's proud hill
Slow rose the stately cedar's brow.
Nor less rejoice the lowly plains,
Of useful corn the fertile bed,
Than when the lordly cedar reigns,
A beauteous, but a barren shade.

17. While in his arms the painted train,
Warbling to the vocal grove,
Sweetly tell their pleasing pain,
Willing slaves to genial love.

Verse 18. **While the wild-goats, an active throng,**
From rock to rock light-bounding fly,
Jehovah's praise in solemn song,
Shall echo through the vaulted sky.

The Hymn on the Divine Attributes, published in his large Hymn-Book, was composed by him, and is one of the most excellent of the kind in our language. All the hymns also in his various publications, which were borrowed from the German (and there are many such) were translated by him.

The reader who carefully examines these specimens of his poetical talents, and at the same time considers that he was designed for a more noble employment than making verses, however excellent they might be, will highly approve of the judicious advice his mother gave him about this time: "I would not have you leave off making verses, (says she) rather make poetry sometimes your diversion, though never your business."

But he has frequently urged, as another reason for silencing his Muse, that the superior poetic genius of his brother rendered it unnecessary for him to employ his time in this way.

Mr. Wesley was now more desirous than ever of improving his time to the best advantage. But as he had not yet taken his Degree of Master of Arts, the whole of his time was not at his own disposal. But such portions of it as were, he carefully spent in pursuit of such knowledge as promised to be beneficial to himself, and would enable him to benefit others; never indulging himself in an idle, useless curiosity, which is the common fault of most young men in the conduct of their studies. He expresses his sentiments on this head in a letter to his mother of January 1727. "I am shortly to take my Master's Degree. As I shall from that time be less interrupted by business not my own choosing; I have drawn up for myself a scheme of studies, from which I do not intend, for some years at least, to vary.—I am perfectly come home to your opinion, that there are many truths it is not worth while to know. Cu-

riosity indeed might be a sufficient plea for our laying out some time upon them, if we had half a dozen centuries of lives to come; but methinks it is great ill-husbandry to spend a considerable part of the small pittance now allowed us, in what makes us neither a quick nor a sure return.

"Two days ago I was reading a dispute between those celebrated masters of controversy, Bishop Atterbury and Bishop Hoadley; but must own I was so injudicious as to break off in the middle. I could not conceive, that the dignity of the end was at all proportioned to the difficulty of attaining it. And I thought the labour of twenty or thirty hours, if I was sure of succeeding, which I was not, would be but ill rewarded by that piece of important knowledge, whether Bishop Hoadley had misunderstood Bishop Atterbury or no?"

The following paragraph, in the same letter, will shew the reader how diligent he had long been in improving the occasions which occurred, of impressing a sense of religion on the minds of his companions, and of his soft and obliging manner of doing it. "About a year and a half ago, (says he) I stole out of company at eight in the evening, with a young gentleman with whom I was intimate. As we took a turn in an isle of St. Mary's Church, in expectation of a young lady's funeral, with whom we were both acquainted, I asked him if he really thought himself my friend? and if he did, why he would not do me all the good he could? He began to protest,—in which I cut him short, by desiring him to oblige me in an instance, which he could not deny to be in his own power: to let me have the pleasure of making him a whole Christian, to which I knew he was at least half persuaded already. That he could not do me a greater kindness, as both of us would be fully convinced when we came to follow that young woman."

"He turned exceedingly serious, and has kept something that disposition ever since. Yesterday was a fortnight he died of a consumption. I saw him three days before he died; and on the Sunday following did him the last good

office I could here, by preaching his funeral sermon; which was his desire when living."

Mr. Wesley proceeded Master of Arts on the 15th of February,* and acquired considerable reputation in his disputation for his Degree; on which account his mother congratulates him in a letter of the 14th of March.—On the 19th he writes thus to her: "One advantage at least, my Degree has given me; I am now at liberty, and shall be in a great measure for some time, to choose my own employment. And as I believe, I know my own deficiencies best, and which of them are most necessary to be supplied; I hope my time will turn to somewhat better account, than when it was not so much in my own disposal."—He had already fixed the plan of his studies; but how to attain a more practical knowledge of God, and a more entire conformity to his will, in the temper of his mind and in all his actions, was a point not so easily determined. He saw what the law of God required him to be, and was deeply sensible of his deficiencies; but he did not yet see the way of faith, which the Gospel points out as the way of victory, of holiness, and of peace. There is nothing more natural in this state of mind, than for a person to imagine, that some other situation of life would be more advantageous to him than that in which he is placed. He feels his present difficulties and hinderances in the way of religion; but he does not see, that every situation of life has its difficulties and hinderances, which a Christian is called upon to conquer, not to shun. Mr. Wesley however, thought, that the company he was necessarily exposed to at Oxford, was a hinderance to his progress in religion, and that a seclusion from the world would be highly advantageous to him in this respect. Though we must disapprove of the opinion, which his riper judgment likewise condemned, we cannot but acknowledge that it gives the clearest evidence of his

* Private Diary.

sincerity; and that he was not religious, to be seen of men. He expresses the thoughts he then had of this matter, in the same letter of the 19th of March.—"The *conversation* of one or two persons, whom you may have heard me speak of, I hope never without gratitude, first took off my relish for most other pleasures, so far that I despised them in comparison of *that*. I have since proceeded a step further; to slight them absolutely. And I am so little at present in love with even company, the most elegant entertainment next to books; that, unless the persons have a religious turn of thought, I am much better pleased without them. I think it is the settled temper of my soul, that I should prefer, at least for some time, such a retirement, as would seclude me from all the world, to the station I am now in. Not that this is by any means unpleasant to me; but I imagine it would be more improving, to be in a place where I might confirm or implant in my mind what habits I would, without interruption, before the flexibility of youth be over.

"A school in Yorkshire was proposed to me lately, on which I shall think more, when it appears whether I may have it or not. A good salary is annexed to it. But what has made me wish for it most, is the frightful description, as they call it, which some gentlemen who know the place, gave me of it yesterday. It lies in a little vale, so pent up between two hills, that it is scarcely accessible on any side; so that you can expect little company from without, and within there is none at all. I should therefore be entirely at liberty to converse with company of my own choosing, whom for that reason I would bring with me; and company equally agreeable, wherever I fixed, could not put me to less expence.

"The sun that walks his airy way,
To cheer the world, and bring the day;
The moon that shines with borrow'd light,
The stars that gild the gloomy night.

All of these, and all I see,
Should be sung, and sung by me:
These praise their Maker as they can,
But want, and ask the tongue of man."

"I am full of business: but have found a way to write, without taking any time from that. It is but rising an hour sooner in the morning, and going into company an hour later in the evening; both which may be done without any inconvenience."—The school however was otherwise disposed of, at which his mother was well-pleased. "I am not sorry (says she) that you have missed the school; that way of life would not agree with your constitution; and I hope God has better work for you to do."

Mr. Wesley saw that a loose and desultory way of reading and studying, was not the way to accurate knowledge; and to avoid falling into this error, he had, some time before he took his Master's Degree, laid down a plan of study which he now closely pursued. Certain hours, in the morning and afternoon, of each day in the week, were appropriated to the study of various branches of knowledge: and he never suffered himself to deviate from the rule he had laid down. Thus, his hours of study, on Mondays and Tuesdays, were devoted to the Greek and Roman Classics, Historians and Poets.—Wednesdays, to Logic and Ethics.—Thursdays, to Hebrew and Arabic.—Fridays, to Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy.—Saturdays, to Oratory and Poetry, chiefly composing.—Sundays, to Divinity.—In the intermediate hours between these more fixed studies, he perfected himself in the French language, which he had begun to learn two or three years before; he also read a great variety of modern authors in almost every department of science. His method was this: he first read an author regularly through; then, in the second reading, transcribed into his collections, such passages as he thought important, either for the information they contained, or the beauty of expression. This method not only inured him to industry and accuracy, but it considerably increased his

stock of knowledge, and gave him a familiar acquaintance with the authors he had read.

It has been doubted by some persons, whether the Mathematics entered into Mr. Wesley's plan of study at the University. But among the authors mentioned in his Diary, are found, Euclid, Keil, S'Gravesande, Sir Isaac Newton, &c. and he seems to have studied them with great attention. He sometimes amused himself with experiments in Optics.

It has been before observed, that his father had two Livings. He now became less able to attend to the duties of his station, than formerly; especially as it was difficult, and sometimes dangerous in the winter, to pass between Epworth and Wroote: and it was not easy to procure an Assistant to his mind, in this remote corner of the kingdom. He was therefore desirous, that his son, Mr. John Wesley, should come into the country, and reside chiefly at Wroote, as his Curate. Mr. Wesley complied with his father's request, who thus expresses himself in a letter of June,—"I do not think that I have thanked you enough for your kind and dutiful letter of the 14th instant.—When you come hither, your head-quarters will, I believe, for the most part be at Wroote, and mine at Epworth; though sometimes making a change."—Accordingly, he left Oxford, on the 4th of August; and coming to London, spent some days with his brother Samuel, and then proceeded on his journey to take upon him his appointed charge.—In this part of Lincolnshire, the ague is endemic, and in October he was seized with it; at the same time he was called to Oxford, probably to oblige Dr. Morley, the Rector of Lincoln-College, on some election business. This gentleman had rendered such services to Mr. Wesley, in his election to Lincoln, that he used to say, "I can refuse Dr. Morley nothing." In the present instance, his gratitude overcame all objections against travelling on horseback, through wet and cold, with an ague upon him. He reached Oxford on the 16th, and left it again on the 25th, travelling in the same manner back to Wroote, though often very ill on the road. He now con-

tinued in the country for some time, still pursuing the same plan of study, as far as the nature of his situation would permit.

Mr. Wesley's general knowledge and agreeable conversation, had endeared him to all his acquaintance at Oxford. He was a most engaging and instructive companion; open and communicative to his friends, and civil and obliging to all. The following letter will set this part of his character in a clear light. It was written by one of the Fellows of his own College, who, it seems, had been a good deal absent, and knew little of him except what he had learned from the report of those who had been acquainted with him.

"COLL. LINC. *Dec.* 28, 1727.

"SIR,

"YESTERDAY I had the satisfaction of receiving your kind and obliging letter, whereby you have given me a singular instance of that goodness and civility which is essential to your character; and strongly confirmed to me, the many encomiums which are given you in this respect, by all who have the happiness to know you. This makes me infinitely desirous of your acquaintance. And when I consider those shining qualities which I hear daily mentioned in your praise, I cannot but lament the great misfortune we all suffer, in the absence of so agreeable a person from the College. But I please myself with the thought of seeing you here on Chapter-day, and of the happiness we shall have in your company in the summer. In the mean time, I return you my most sincere thanks for this favour, and assure you, that if it should ever lie in my power to serve you, no one will be more ready to do it, than,

"SIR,

"Your most obliged and most humble Servant,

"LEW. FENTON."

Mr. Wesley continued in the country till July 1728, when he returned by way of London, to Oxford, where he arrived on the 27th of this month, with a view to obtain

Priest's Orders. No reason is assigned, why he was not ordained Priest sooner; it is evident however, that he had never applied for it, probably on account of his age.—On Sunday, the 22d of September he was ordained Priest, by Dr. Potter, Bishop of Oxford, who had ordained him Deacon in 1725. Mr. Wesley has made a mistake in the date of his ordination. In the first part of his *Farther Appeal*, he says, "I was ordained Deacon in 1725, and Priest in the year following."—This only proves, that in giving the dates of things which had taken place, he did not always consult his Diary, but trusted to his memory, which sometimes failed him. To convince the reader, that we have given the true date, we insert below a part of his letter of Priest's Orders.*

October 1st. He set out for Lincolnshire, and did not again visit Oxford till the 16th of June 1729. At this time his brother Charles, Mr. Morgan, and one or two more, had just formed a little Society, chiefly to assist each other in their studies, and to consult on the best method of employing their time to advantage. During his stay here, he was almost constantly with them in the evenings; but about the middle of August, he returned to his charge at Wroote, where he continued till he received the following letter from Dr. Morley, the Rector of the College, dated the 21st of October.—"At a meeting of the Society, just before I left

* Tenore præsentium nos Johannes permissione divina Oxon. Episcopus, Notum facimus universis quod nos Episcopus antedictus die Dominico (viz.) Vicesimo secundo die mensis Septembris, Anno Domini Millesimo Septingentesimo Vicesimo octavo in Ecclesia Cathedrali Christi Oxon. Sacros Ordines Dei Omnipotentis præsidio celebrantes; Dilectum nobis in Christo Johannem Wesley, Artis Magistrum, e Coll. Lincoln. Oxon. Socium—ad Sacrum Presbyteratus Ordinem juxta morem et ritus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ admisimus et promovimus ipsumque in Presbyterum tunc et ibidem rite et Canonice Ordinavimus. Datum sub Sigillo nostro Episcopali in præmissorum fidem ac testimonium die mensis Annoque Domini supra expressis et nostræ Consecrationis Anno decimo quarto.

Jo. Oxon.

College, to consider of the proper method to preserve discipline and good government; among several things agreed on, it was, in the opinion of all that were present, judged necessary that the junior Fellows who should be chosen Moderators, shall in person attend the duties of their office, if they do not prevail with some of the Fellows to officiate for them. We all thought it would be a great hardship on Mr. Fenton, to call him from a perpetual Curacy or Donative; yet this we must have done, had not Mr. Hutchins been so kind to him and us, as to free us from the uneasiness of doing a hard thing, by engaging to supply his place in the Hall for the present year. Mr. Robinson would as willingly supply your's, but the serving of two Cures about fourteen miles distant from Oxford, and ten at least as bad as the worst of your roads in the Isle, makes it, he says, impossible for him to discharge the duty constantly. We hope it may be as much for your advantage to reside at College as where you are, if you take pupils, or can get a Curacy in the neighbourhood of Oxon. Your Father may certainly have another Curate, though not so much to his satisfaction: yet we are persuaded that this will not move him to hinder your return to College, since the interest of College, and obligation to Statute requires it."—In consequence of this letter, he quitted his father's Curacy at Wroote, and November 22d, came to reside at Oxford.

CHAPTER V.

OF MR. WESLEY'S RESIDENCE AT OXFORD FROM NOVEMBER 1729, TO OCTOBER 1735; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST METHODIST SOCIETY, DURING THIS PERIOD.

HITHERTO we have viewed Mr. Wesley, as the polite Collegian, rising into notice and esteem for his literary talents; and in the humble station of Curate to his father. The reader will observe that he did not quit this station from discontent, or restless ambition, but at the call of the heads

of his College. It is manifest, that he had not the least conception of what afterwards followed. In consequence of the order he had received, he now entered upon a new situation: he obtained pupils, and became a Tutor in the College: he presided in the Hall as Moderator in the disputations, held six times a week, and had the chief direction of a religious Society. As Tutor, he was singularly diligent and careful of his pupils, considering himself responsible for them, not only to their parents and the community, but to God; and therefore laboured to make them both scholars and christians. Some of them disapproved of his religious severities, and refused to join with him in them, but still continued under his care as pupils, and warmly acknowledged their obligations to him. As Moderator in the disputations, he acquired a facility and expertness in arguing; especially, as he himself observes, "In discerning and pointing out well covered and plausible fallacies," which afterwards gave him a great superiority over most of his numerous adversaries. But his endeavours to become religious, will form the chief subject of this chapter. We call all that he did mere endeavours, because he did not attain the end which he aimed at, peace of mind, comfort in God, and a command over all his passions. He was a long time before he was fully convinced that his own endeavours were insufficient to give him the mind that was in Christ. He clearly saw in 1725, what the Gospel was intended to do for him, and for all mankind; to be the mean of reconciling him to God, and giving him a title to the heavenly inheritance; of cleansing him from sin, and preparing him for the enjoyment of heaven: and he retained this view of the general design of the Gospel, from that period to the end of his life, without the least variation. But he did not yet understand the *method* proposed in the Gospel, of putting a sinner in possession of these blessings, nor the order in which the mind is capable of acquiring them. It is true, he read the Scriptures daily at this time, and in his religious researches was *homo unius libri*, a man of one book. But his pre-con-

ceived opinions were as a blind before his mind, and completely hid from his view, the Gospel method of attaining present salvation. This is no reproach to Mr. Wesley, nor any objection against the doctrines he afterwards embraced. It is the common lot of all men, to imbibe in their youth, notions which afterwards hinder them from perceiving the most obvious truths. It is well known that the systems of natural philosophy, which ingenious men have formed and taught to young students, have been the chief hinderances to their progress in knowledge. What kept his mind in a state of perplexity was, a confused notion of justification, which he either confounded with sanctification, or thought a man must be sanctified before he could be justified. This notion hindered him from perceiving, that to justify in the language of Paul, is to pardon a repenting believing sinner, as an act of grace; not for the sake of any previous holiness in him, but through Jesus Christ alone. As soon as he was convinced of this, he was no longer embarrassed and perplexed; he saw immediately the plan which the Gospel proposes of reconciling sinners to God, of making them holy in heart and life, and of giving them a sure hope, full of immortality.—But let us attend him through the period appropriated to this chapter, and we shall see the efforts of a great mind to do the will of God; and every step we take, will convince us of the uprightness of his intention.

It appears from the account given of Mr. Charles Wesley, that for more than two years before this time he had studied very hard, and through his brother's advice and influence was become deeply serious; that during the last summer he had received the Sacrament weekly, and had prevailed on two or three young men to do the same: and that these gentlemen had occasionally met together for the purpose of assisting and encouraging each other in their duty, and of regulating their employments by certain rules. The regular method of arranging their studies and other employments procured them the distinguishing epithet of *Methodists*, which according to Mr. Charles, was given

them before his brother came to Oxford in November. This is probably the most accurate account; for when Mr. Wesley speaks of this appellation, he mentions it only in very general terms, without attempting to state, at what period of the Society it was first given. "The exact regularity of their lives as well as studies, (says he) occasioned a young gentleman of Christ-Church to say, 'Here is a new set of *Methodists* sprung up;' alluding to some ancient Physicians who were so called.* The name was new and quaint; so it took immediately, and the *Methodists* were known all over the University."

It does not appear, however, that these gentlemen met together at any fixed or stated times, or that they had made any regulations for this purpose before Mr. John Wesley joined them. When he came amongst them, they gladly committed the direction of the whole to him; and from this time the Society began to assume a more regular form; it is from this period, therefore, that he commences his history of it, in the following words:

"In November 1729, four young gentlemen of Oxford,

* Themison was the founder of this sect, about thirty or forty years before the Christian Era; and it flourished, according to Alpinus, about three hundred years. Le Clerc, informs us, that the Physicians of this sect were called *Methodists*, because they took it into their heads, to find out a more easy *method* of teaching and practising the art of Physic. However this may be, it is certain that some of the greatest Physicians of the time in which the sect flourished, were *Methodists*. That Themison, was a man of the most extensive practice, is evidently implied in the words of Juvenal, if he speaks of the same person, which is generally supposed. He is describing the infirmities of an old man, and observes,

———Circumsilit agmine facto
Morborum omne genus, quorum si nomina quæras
Promptius expediam———
Quot Themison ægros autumno occiderit uno.

"A whole troop of all kinds of diseases rush upon him on all sides; if you ask their names, I could as soon reckon up how many patients Themison killed in one autumn."—Had his practice, however, been very unsuccessful, it is not probable it would have been so extensive as to become almost proverbial.

Mr. John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln-College; Mr. Charles Wesley, Student of Christ-Church; Mr. Morgan, Commoner of Christ-Church; and Mr. Kirkman, of Merton-College, began to spend some evenings in a week together, in reading chiefly the Greek Testament. The next year two or three of Mr. John Wesley's pupils desired the liberty of meeting with them; and afterwards one of Mr. Charles Wesley's pupils. It was in 1732, that Mr. Ingham, of Queen's-College, and Mr. Broughton, of Exeter, were added to their number. To these, in April, was joined Mr. Clayton, of Brazen-Nose, with two or three of his pupils. About the same time Mr. James Hervey was permitted to meet with them, and afterwards Mr. Whitefield." *

These four young gentlemen continued their meetings for some time, without any other views than their own benefit; but in the summer of 1730, Mr. Morgan called at the gaol to see a man who was condemned for killing his wife, and told them, that, from the conversation he had with one of the debtors, he verily believed it would do much good if any one would be at the pains of now and then speaking with them. Having mentioned this several times, Mr. Wesley and his brother Charles, went with him on the 24th of August to the Castle, and were so well satisfied with their visit, that they determined to go thither once or twice a week. They had not done this long, before Mr. Morgan, who seems to have led the way in acts of charity and benevolence to others, desired Mr. Wesley to go with him to see a poor woman in the town who was sick. When they began to reflect on the benefit this might be of to the poor, they thought it would be well worth while to spend two or three hours in the week in this species of charity, especially if the Minister of the parish in which such person was, did not object to it. But as this practice was quite *new*, and had an appearance of irregularity, on which account it might give offence, Mr. Wesley did not choose

* Short History of Methodism.

to proceed any further without advice. He wrote to his father, who was remarkably attached to regularity and church order, stating what they had hitherto done, and what their design was; begging to have his opinion whether they had already gone too far? Whether they should stand still where they were, or go forward?

His father's answer is dated September 21st, in which he says, "As to your own designs and employments, what can I say less of them than *valde probo;* and that I have the highest reason to bless God, that he has given me two sons together at Oxford, to whom he has given grace and courage to turn the war against the world and the devil, which is the best way to conquer them. They have but one enemy more to combat with, the flesh; which if they take care to subdue by fasting and prayer, there will be no more for them to do, but to proceed steadily in the same course, and expect the crown which fadeth not away. You have reason to bless God, as I do, that you have so fast a friend as Mr. Morgan, who, I see, in the most difficult service, is ready to break the ice for you.

"I am afraid lest the main objection you make against your going on in the business of the prisoners, may secretly proceed from flesh and blood. For *who can harm you if you are followers of that which is so good?* And which will be one of the marks by which the Shepherd of Israel will know his sheep at the last day. Though, if it were possible for you to suffer a little in the cause, you would have a confessor's reward. You own that none but such as are out of their senses would be prejudiced against you for acting in this manner.—Go on then in God's name, in the path to which your Saviour has directed you, and that tract wherein your father has gone before you! For when I was an undergraduate, I visited those in the Castle there, and reflect on it with great satisfaction to this day. Walk as prudently as you can, though not fearfully, and my heart and prayers are with you.

"Your first regular step is to consult with him, if any such there be, who has a jurisdiction over the prisoners;

and the next is to obtain the direction and approbation of your Bishop. This is Monday morning, at which time I shall never forget you.—Accordingly, to him who is every where, I now heartily commit you, as being your affectionate and joyful Father."

This advice, from a person on whose judgment, experience, and orthodoxy they could depend, gave them courage; it confirmed them in their benevolent purposes, and animated them with zeal in the execution of them. They carefully attended, however, to the prudential directions; and Mr. Wesley immediately consulted Mr. Gerard, the Bishop of Oxford's chaplain, who likewise attended the prisoners when they were condemned to die, for at other times they were left to their own care. He proposed to him their design of serving the prisoners as far as they could, and his own intention of preaching there once a-month, if the Bishop should approve of it. Mr. Gerard commended the design, and said he would answer for the Bishop's approbation, to whom he would take the first opportunity of mentioning it. The Bishop being consulted, not only gave his permission, but was highly pleased with the undertaking, and hoped it would have the desired success.

Sheltered by such respectable authority, they thought themselves secure, and prosecuted their design with diligence. But no human authority is sufficient to restrain the overflowings of a mind at enmity with God. The old drones in religion, who retain little of Christianity but the name, think themselves insulted by any extraordinary piety and zeal in young men; and the gay and thoughtless are irritated, because they think their peculiar pleasures and whole manner of life are thereby condemned. Thus the case seems to have stood between these young men and their opponents at Oxford. The opposition increased. The men of wit in Christ-church entered the lists against them, and, between mirth and anger, made pretty many reflections upon the *Sacramentarians*, as they were pleased to call them. Their allies of Merton, thought both this and the title of *Methodists*, too decent, as implying something com-

mendable; they therefore changed it, and honoured them with the title of the *Holy Club*. But most of these being persons of well-known characters, they made no proselytes from the sacrament, till a gentleman, eminent for learning, and well esteemed for piety, joining them, told his nephew, that if he dared to go to the weekly communion any longer, he would turn him out of doors. This argument had no success; the young gentleman communicated next week. The uncle now became more violent, and shook his nephew by the throat, to convince him more effectually that receiving the sacrament every week was founded in error; but this argument appearing to the young gentleman to have no weight in it, he continued his usual practice. This eminent person, so well esteemed for piety, was however indefatigable in his endeavours to suppress it. He now changed the mode of attack, and like a true agent of Satan, kept close to the letter of the Apostle's advice, but grossly perverted the spirit of it. By a soft obliging manner towards him, he melted down the young gentleman's resolution of being so strictly religious, and from this time he began to absent himself, five Sundays out of six, from the Sacrament. This success gave the opposition new strength, and one of the Seniors of the College consulting with the Doctor, they prevailed with two other young gentlemen to promise they would only communicate three times a-year.

The opposition now becoming more serious, by some persons of influence taking so decided a part against them, the two Mr. Wesleys wrote to their father again, stating their situation, and asking further advice. His answer, which is dated December the 1st, is as follows:

"This day I received both yours, and this evening, in the course of our reading, I thought I found an answer that would be more proper than any I myself could dictate; though since it will not be easily translated, I send it in the original. Πολλη μοι Καυχησις υπερ υμων· πεπληρωμαι τη

παρακλησει· υπερπερισσευομαι τη χαρα.* What would you be? Would you be angels? I question whether a mortal can arrive to a greater degree of perfection than steadily to do good, and for that very reason patiently and meekly to suffer evil. For my part, on the present view of your actions and designs, my daily prayers are that God would keep you humble: and then I am sure that if you continue *to suffer for righteousness' sake*, though it be but in a lower degree, *the Spirit of God and of glory* shall in some good measure *rest upon you*. And you cannot but feel such a satisfaction in your own minds as you would not part with for all the world.—Be never weary of well-doing; never look back, for you know the prize and the crown are before you; though I can scarce think so meanly of you, as that you should be discouraged with the *crackling of thorns under a pot*. Be not high-minded, but fear. Preserve an equal temper of mind under whatever treatment you meet with, from a not very just or well-natured world. Bear no more sail than is necessary, but steer steady. The less you value yourselves for these unfashionable duties (as there is no such thing as works of supererogation) the more all good and wise men will value you, if they see your actions are all of a piece; or, which is infinitely more, he, by whom actions and intentions are weighed, will both accept, esteem, and reward you.

"I hear my son John has the honour of being styled the *Father of the Holy Club;* if it be so, I am sure I must be the Grandfather of it; and I need not say, that I had rather any of my sons should be so dignified and distinguished, than to have the title of His Holliness."

In the same letter he advises them to use great mildness towards their persecutors, but at the same time to avoid a

* 2 Cor. vii. 4. Great is my glorying of you: I am filled with comfort; I am exceeding joyful.

mean or sneaking behaviour, and rather to show an open manly firmness, which is highly becoming in a mind conscious of acting well.

In answer to this Mr. Wesley wrote to his father December 11. He says, "We all return you our sincere thanks for your timely and necessary advice; and should be exceedingly glad if it were as easy to follow it, as it is impossible not to approve it. That doubtless is the very point we have to gain before any other can be managed successfully, to have an habitual lively sense of our being only instruments in his hand, who can do all things either with or without any instrument. But how to fix this sense in us, is the great question.—We hope you and all our friends will continue to intercede for us to him with whom all things are possible.

"To-morrow night I expect to be in company with the gentleman who did us the honour to take the first notice of our little Society. I have terrible reasons to think he is as slenderly provided with humanity as with sense and learning. However, I must not let slip this opportunity, because he is at present in some distress, occasioned by his being obliged to dispute in the Schools on Monday; though he is not furnished with such arguments as he wants. I intend, if he has not procured them before, to help him to some arguments, that I may at least remove that prejudice from him; that 'we are friends to none but those who are as queer as ourselves.'"

Under the encouragement of his father's letter they still continued to meet together as usual, and to confirm one another in their pious resolutions. They communicated once a week. They visited the prisoners, and some poor families in the town when they were sick; and that they might have wherewith to relieve their distress, they abridged themselves of all the superfluities and of many of the conveniences of life. They took every opportunity of conversing with their acquaintance in the most useful manner, to awaken in them a sense of religion. But the outcry daily increasing, they thought it proper, by way of self-

defence, to propose to their friends or opponents as opportunity offered, these or the like questions:

1. Whether it does not concern all men of all conditions, to imitate him as much as they can, *who went about doing good?*

Whether all Christians are not concerned in that command, "*While we have time let us do good to all men.*"

Whether we shall not be more happy hereafter, the more good we do now?

2. Whether we may not try to do good to our acquaintance among the young gentlemen of the University. Particularly whether we may not endeavour to convince them of the necessity of being Christians, and of being Scholars?

Whether we may not try to convince them of the necessity of method and industry, in order to either learning or virtue?

Whether we may not try to persuade them to confirm and increase their industry, by communicating as often as they can?

Whether we may not mention to them the authors whom we conceive to have written best on those subjects?

Whether we may not assist them as we are able, from time to time, to form resolutions upon what they read in those authors, and to execute them with steadiness and perseverance?

3. May we not try to do good to those who are hungry, naked, or sick? If we know any necessitous family, may we not give them a little food, clothes, or physic, as they want?

If they can read, may we not give them a Bible, a Common-Prayer Book, or a Whole Duty of Man? May we not inquire, now and then, how they have used them; explain what they do not understand, and enforce what they do?

May we not enforce upon them the necessity of private prayer, and of frequenting the Church and Sacrament?

May we not contribute what we are able, toward having their children clothed, and taught to read?

4. May we not try to do good to those who are in prison? May we not release such well-disposed persons as remain in prison for small debts?

May we not lend small sums to those who are of any trade, that they may procure themselves tools and materials to work with?

May we not give to them who appear to want it most, a little money, or clothes, or physic?"

It was impossible for any person, who had a grain of either humanity or religion left, to answer these questions in the negative, however averse he might be to practise the duties proposed in them. No one attempted it; but several, when they understood the plan of their design, increased their little stock of money for the prisoners and the poor, by subscribing something quarterly to it; so that the more persons they proposed their designs to, the more they were confirmed in the belief that they were acting right, and more determined to pursue their plan, notwithstanding the ridicule which increased fast upon them during the winter.

It appears from the questions here proposed, which relate to the Students, that Mr. Wesley was not inattentive to their progress in learning, though he endeavoured to make them religious. His regular method of study, his diligence, and great care to make his pupils thoroughly understand every thing they read, were admirably adapted to make them scholars. It is indeed universally allowed, that he was an excellent tutor, and his pupils have in general acknowledged themselves under infinite obligations to him on this account.

This year, Mr. Wesley and his brother Charles, began the practice of conversing together in Latin, whenever they were alone; chiefly with a view of acquiring a facility in expressing themselves in this language, on all occasions, with perspicuity, energy, and elegance. This practice they continued for near sixty years; and with such success, that if their style did not equal, it certainly, on some subjects,

approached nearer to the best models of conversation in the Augustan age, than many of the learned have thought it possible to attain.

In the beginning of the year 1731, a meeting was held by several of the Seniors of the College, to consult on the speediest way to stop the progress of enthusiasm in it. Mr. Wesley and his friends did not learn what was the result of this very pious consultation; but it was soon publicly reported, that Dr. —— and the Censors were going to blow up the *Godly Club*. This was now their common title; tho' they were sometimes dignified with that of the *Enthusiasts*, or the *Reforming Club*.—It is curious to observe, the different modes of attack sometimes made use of, both against persons and doctrines. When the opposers can derive no advantage, either from Scripture or reason, they give bad names to the best things; in order to prejudice the minds of those, who never think for themselves.

As new difficulties arose, Mr. Wesley lost no opportunity of consulting his friends. He now wrote to his brother Samuel at Westminster; whose answer is dated April—"I designed (says he) to have written by Mr. Bateman, to whom I read part of your last letter, concerning the execrable consultation in order to stop the progress of religion, by giving it a false name. He lifted up his eyes and hands, and protested he could not have believed such a thing. He gave Mr. Morgan a very good character, and said he should always think himself obliged to him, for the pains he took in reclaiming a young pupil of his, who was just got into ill company, and upon the brink of destruction.—I do not like your being called *a club*; that name is really calculated to do mischief. But the other charge of enthusiasm can weigh with none, but such as drink away their senses, or never had any: for surely activity in social duties, and a strict attendance on the ordained means of grace, are the strongest guards imaginable against it. I called on Dr. Terry, to desire him to subscribe to Job, but did not meet with him at home; in two or three days, *O rem ridiculam et jocosam;* he did me the favour to call upon me. I said, I hope

my two brothers have still good characters at Oxford,—he answered he believed they were studious and sober. When he was got down stairs he turned about, and said, I think I have heard your brothers are exemplary and take great pains to instil good principles into young people. I told him, and you may guess I told him the truth, I was very glad to hear such a character of them, *especially from him.*"

From the last words, it is pretty plain, that Dr. Terry was an avowed opposer of Mr. Wesley and his friends, tho' he was constrained to bear testimony to the goodness of their characters: but whether he was the grave gentleman who so piously took his nephew by the throat to convert him to his own way of thinking and acting; and who consulted with the censors how to stop the progress of religion among them, is not certain.

In the midst of such opposition, Mr. Wesley thought it prudent to take every method in his power, to prevent the good that was in them from being evil spoken of; and with this view, and to obtain further advice, he wrote in May, to the Rev. Mr. Hoole,* an aged Clergyman in his father's neighbourhood, of known wisdom and integrity. Part of his answer runs thus; † "As to my own sense of the matter, I confess that I cannot but heartily approve of that serious and religious turn of mind that prompts you and your associates to those pious and charitable offices; and can have no notion of that man's religion, or concern for the honour of the University, that opposes you, as far as your design respects the Colleges. I should be loath to send a son of mine to any Seminary, where his conversation with virtuous young men, whose profest design of meeting together at proper times, was to assist each other in forming good resolutions, and encouraging one another to execute them with constancy and steadiness, was inconsistent with any received maxims or rules of life among the members."

* Private Diary. † First Journal.

On the 18th of April Mr. Wesley, in company with his brother, set out on foot for Epworth; for they now saved every penny they could, to give it to the poor. They returned to Oxford on the 12th of May, and on the 11th of June, he wrote to his father, giving him a very discouraging account of their little Society. With respect to their walk he observes, that it was not so pleasant to Oxford, as from it, though in one respect more useful. "For it let us see," says he, "that four or five and twenty miles is an easy and safe day's journey in hot weather as well as cold. We have made another discovery too, which may be of some service; that it is easy to read as we walk ten or twelve miles, and that it neither makes us faint nor gives us any other symptom of weariness, more than the mere walking without reading at all.

"Since our return, our little company that used to meet us on a Sunday evening, is shrunk into almost none at all. Mr. Morgan is sick at Holt; Mr. Boyce is at his father's house at Barton; Mr. Kirkman must very shortly leave Oxford, to be his uncle's curate, and a young gentleman of Christ-church, who used to make a fourth, either afraid or ashamed, or both, is returned to the ways of the world, and studiously shuns our company. However, the poor at the Castle have still the Gospel preached to them, and some of their temporal wants supplied, our little fund rather increasing than diminishing. Nor have we yet been forced to discharge any of the children which Mr. Morgan left to our care: tho' I wish they too, do not find the want of him; I am sure some of their parents will.

"Some, however, give us a better prospect; John Whitelamb in particular. I believe with this you will receive some account from himself, how his time is employed. He reads one English, one Latin, and one Greek book alternately; and never meddles with a new one in any of the languages, till he has ended the old one. If he goes on as he has begun, I dare take upon me to say, that by the time he has been here four or five years, there will not be such a

one, of his standing, in Lincoln-College, perhaps not in the University of Oxford."

But notwithstanding their little company was thus scattered, and they left to stand alone, yet they still pursued their designs of doing as much good as possible, with the same diligence and zeal as before. How few attain to this steadiness of mind in that which is good! Who will support an uniform character in an unfashionable attachment to the duties of religion in every situation, uninfluenced by friends or enemies? Surely none but those who act from principle, who do not consider so much what men say or do, as what judgment God forms of them in every action of life. The present situation of these two young men tried and proved them in this respect, and they stood firm as the beaten anvil to the stroke. Some of their friends, however, began to think that they carried matters too far, and laid unnecessary burdens on themselves. This subject Mr. Wesley mentions in a letter to his mother of the same date with that mentioned above to his father, giving her, at the same time, some account of the effects of their journey.

"THE motion and the sun together," says he, "in our last hundred and fifty miles' walk, so thoroughly carried off all our superfluous humours, that we continue perfectly in health, tho' it is here a very sickly season. And Mr. Kirkman assures us, on the word of a Priest and a Physician, that if we will but take the same medicine once or twice a year, we shall never need any other to keep us from the gout. When we were with him, we touched two or three times on a nice subject, but did not come to any full conclusion. The point debated was, what is the meaning of being *righteous over much*, or by the more common phrase of being too strict in religion? and what danger there was of any of us falling into that extreme?

"All the ways of being too righteous or too strict, which we could think of were these: either the carrying some one particular virtue to so great a height, as to make it clash

with some others; or, the laying too much stress on the instituted means of grace, to the neglect of the weightier matters of the law; or, the multiplying prudential means upon ourselves so far, and binding ourselves to the observance of them so strictly, as to obstruct the end we aimed at by them, either by hindering our advance in heavenly affections in general, or by retarding our progress in some particular virtue. Our opponents seemed to think my brother and me in some danger of being too strict in this last sense; of laying burdens on ourselves too heavy to be borne, and consequently too heavy to be of any use to us.

"It is easy to observe, that almost every one thinks that rule totally needless, which he does not need himself; and as to the christian spirit itself, almost every one calls that degree of it which he does not himself aim at, enthusiasm. If, therefore, we plead for either (not as if we thought the former absolutely needful, neither as if we had attained the latter) it is no great wonder that they who are not for us in practice should be against us. If you who are a less prejudiced judge, have perceived us faulty in this matter, too superstitious or enthusiastic, or whatever it is to be called; we earnestly desire to be speedily informed of our error, that we may no longer spend our strength on that which profiteth not. Or whatever there may be on the other hand, in which you have observed us to be too remiss, that, likewise, we desire to know as soon as possible. This is a subject which we would understand with as much accuracy as possible, it being hard to say which is of the worse consequence: the being too strict, the really carrying things too far, the wearying ourselves and spending our strength in burdens that that are unnecessary; or the being frightened by those terrible words, from what, if not directly necessary, would, at least, be useful."

The reader will easily observe that this letter, written to a parent, to whom he often laid open all his heart without the least restraint or disguise, speaks a mind ardently bent on a total devotion to God, and anxious to discover the

most excellent way of attaining it. The following letter, written in November to his brother Samuel, treats on the same subject he had mentioned to his mother, and discovers his sentiments more at large. It seems Mr. Samuel Wesley had suggested to him, that in his general seriousness, and in one or two other points of behaviour, he carried matters too far; that these little things might give prejudice against other parts of his conduct that were excellent, and of the utmost importance; and that he might relax a little in these smaller matters without injuring his general design. In answer to these remarks of his brother, he says:—"Considering the other changes that I remember in myself, I shall not at all wonder if the time comes, when we differ as little in our conclusions as we do now in our premises. In most we seem to agree already; especially as to rising, not keeping much company, and sitting by a fire, which I always do, if any one in the room does, whether at home or abroad. But these are the very things about which others will never agree with me. Had I given up these, or but one of them, rising early, which implies going to bed early, (though I never am sleepy now) and keeping so little company, not one man in ten of those who are offended at me, as it is, would ever open their mouth against any of the other particulars. For the sake of these, those are mentioned; the root of the matter lies here. Would I but employ a third of my money, and about half my time as other folks do, smaller matters would easily be overlooked. But I think, '*Nil tanti est.*' As to my hair, I am much more sure, that what this enables me to do, is according to the Scripture, than I am that the length of it is contrary to it.*

* Mr. Wesley wore his hair remarkably long and flowing on his shoulders. As he was often indisposed, his mother thought it injured his health, and was very desirous that he should have it taken off: "I verily believe," says she in a letter, "you will never have any good state of health, while you keep your hair." He objected against parting with his hair, because it would occasion some increase of his expences, which he could not afford, without giving less to the poor. His brother Samuel took a middle way, and advised him to have his hair cut shorter; and this advice he followed.

"I have often thought of a saying of Dr. Hayward's when he examined me for Priest's Orders: 'Do you know what you are about? You are bidding defiance to all mankind. He that would live a Christian Priest, ought to know, that whether his hand be against every man or no, he must expect every man's hand should be against him.' It is not strange that every man's hand, who is not a Christian, should be against him that endeavours to be so. But is it not hard that even those who are with us should be against us; that a man's enemies, in some degree, should be those of the same household of faith? Yet so it is. From the time that a man sets himself to this business, very many, even of those who travel the same road, many of those who are before as well as behind him, will lay stumbling blocks in his way. One blames him for not going fast enough, another for having made no further progress; another for going too far, which, perhaps, strange as it is, is the more common charge of the two. For this comes from all people of all sorts; not only infidels, not only half Christians, but some of the best of men are very apt to make this reflection, 'He lays unnecessary burdens upon himself; he is too precise; he does what God has no where required to be done.' True, he has not required it of those who are perfect; and even as to those who are not, all men are not required to use all means, but every man is required to use those which he finds most useful to himself, and who can tell better than himself whether he finds them so or no? Who knoweth the things of a man better than the spirit of a man that is in him?

"This being a point of no common concern, I desire to explain myself upon it once for all, and to tell you freely and clearly, those general positions on which I ground all those practices, for which, as you would have seen had you read that paper through, I am generally accused of singularity. 1. As to the end of my being; I lay it down for a rule, that I cannot be too happy, or, therefore, too holy; and thence infer that the more steadily I keep my eye upon the prize of our high calling, and the more of

my thoughts, and words, and actions, are directly pointed at the attainment of it, the better. 2. As to the instituted means of attaining it, I likewise lay it down for a rule, that I am to use them every time I may. 3. As to prudential means, I believe this rule holds of things indifferent in themselves; whatever I know to do me hurt, that to me is not indifferent, but resolutely to be abstained from: whatever I know to do me good, that to me is not indifferent, but resolutely to be embraced.

"But it will be said, I am whimsical. True, and what then? If by *whimsical* be meant simply *singular*, I own it; if singular without any reason, I deny it with both my hands, and am ready to give a reason to any that asks me, of every custom wherein I differ from the world. I grant, in many single actions, I differ unreasonably from others, but not wilfully; no, I shall extremely thank any one who will teach me how to help it.

"As to my being *formal;* if by that be meant that I am not easy and unaffected enough in my carriage, it is very true; but how shall I help it?—If by formal be meant that I am serious, this too is very true; but why should I help it? mirth, I grant, is very fit for you; but does it follow that it is fit for me? Are the same tempers, any more than the same words and actions fit for all circumstances? If you are to *rejoice evermore*, because you have put your enemies to flight, am I to do the same while they continually assault me? You are very glad, because you are *passed from death unto life;* well, but let him be afraid who knows not whether he is to live or die. Whether this be my condition or no, who can tell better than myself? Him who can, whoever he be, I allow to be a proper judge, whether I do well to be generally as serious as I can."

December 11. Mr. Samuel Wesley answered this letter, and felt himself a little hurt at some expressions in it; the force of which he endeavoured to ward off. Some time afterwards, the subject of seriousness was again renewed, and several letters passed between them. At first, they

seemed to differ in opinion; but when each had explained himself, they were more agreed. Mr. Samuel Wesley closes the debate in the following words:—"To the best of my memory, your character was but little in my thoughts, and my own not at all, in my late letters. I never designed to justify myself; perhaps my laughter is particularly blamable, as my temper is serious, severe, and melancholy. —Thus ends our notable dispute, or rather we have had none at all. For you are only against excessive laughter, which I was never for; and only for seriousness, which I was never against. There is a time to weep, and a time to laugh. And now methinks each of us may say to the other, as Dick does to Matt.—

"That people lived and died I knew,
"An hour ago, as well as you."

About this time his father came up to London, and from thence took an excursion to Oxford, to see what his sons were doing, and in what spirit and temper of mind they did it. On his return to London he wrote to Mrs. Wesley, January the 5th, in which he says; "I had your's on New-Year's-Day, on which I returned in one day from Oxford not very well; but well paid both for my expence and labour, by the shining piety of our two sons, of whom I shall write soon more at large." This, the reader will observe, gives the fullest evidence that the father did not think his sons were carrying matters too far.

Though Mr. Wesley continued with such persevering industry in every means of grace, in acts of self-denial, and in doing good to others to the utmost of his power; yet it was a bare conviction of his duty, and not a gale of passion, that supported him in the laborious exercises; which makes his resolutions appear the more extraordinary. When he first set out in this religious course of life, he was fully convinced that he did not possess that state of mind which the Gospel speaks of as the privilege of true believers in Christ; he expected that the practice of every duty to the utmost of his power would lead him into this

state of mind, and give him peace and joy in God; but he did not find that this effect followed; he was often dull, flat, and unaffected in the use of the most solemn ordinances. This both distressed and perplexed him, so that he seemed at a loss which way to proceed, to obtain the happiness and security he wanted. In this state of perplexity he wrote to his mother on the 28th of February, and after mentioning Mr. Morgan's situation he observes; "One consideration is enough to make me assent to his and your judgment concerning the holy sacrament; which is, that we cannot allow Christ's human nature to be present in it, without allowing either con—or transubstantiation. But that his Divinity is so united to us then, as he never is but to worthy receivers, I firmly believe, though the manner of that union is utterly a mystery to me.

"That none but worthy receivers should find this effect is not strange to me, when I observe, how small effect many means of improvement have upon an unprepared mind. Mr. Morgan and my brother were affected as they ought, by the observations you made on that glorious subject: but though my understanding approved what was excellent, yet my heart did not feel it. Why was this, but because it was pre-engaged by those affections with which wisdom will not dwell? because the animal mind cannot relish those truths which are spiritually discerned. Yet I have those writings which the good Spirit gave to that end! I have many of those which he hath since assisted his servants to give us: I have retirement to apply these to my own soul daily; I have means both of public and private prayer; and above all, of partaking in that sacrament once a week. What shall I do to make all these blessings effectual? To gain from them that mind which was also in Christ Jesus?

"To all who give signs of their not being strangers to it, I propose this question—and why not to you rather than any?—Shall I quite break off my pursuit of all learning, but what immediately tends to practice? I once desired to make a fair show in Languages and Philosophy: but it is

past; there is a more excellent way,* and if I cannot attain to any progress in the one, without throwing up all thoughts of the other, why, fare it well! yet a little while and we shall all be equal in knowledge, if we are in virtue.

"You say, 'you have renounced the world.' And what have I been doing all this time? What have I done ever since I was born? Why I have been plunging myself into it more and more. It is enough: Awake, thou that sleepest. Is there not one LORD, one Spirit, one hope of our calling? One way of attaining that hope? Then I am to renounce the world as well as you. That is the very thing I want to do: to draw off my affections from this world and fix them on a better. But how? What is the surest and the shortest way? Is it not to be humble? Surely this is a large step in the way. But the question recurs, how am I to do this? To own the necessity of it, is not to be humble. In many things you have interceded for me and prevailed. Who knows but in this too you may be successful? If you can spare me only that little part of Thursday evening, which you formerly bestowed upon me in another manner, I doubt not but it would be as useful now for correcting my heart, as it was then for forming my judgment.

"When I observe how fast life flies away, and how slow improvement comes, I think one can never be too much afraid of dying before one has learned to live. I mean even in the course of nature. For were I sure that 'the silver cord should not be violently loosed;' that 'the wheel should not be broken at the cistern,' till it was quite worn away by its own motion; yet what a time would this give me for such a work! a moment to transact the business of eternity! What are forty years in comparison of this? So that were I sure of what never man yet was sure of, how little would it alter the case? How justly still might I cry out,

* Certainly there is: A most just and important observation this! For what are languages, philosophy, or any branch of human learning, in comparison of the knowledge of Christ and him crucified! Ed.

" Downward I hasten to my destin'd place;
There none obtain thy aid, none sing thy praise!
Soon shall I lie in death's deep ocean drown'd;
Is mercy there, is sweet forgiveness found?
O save me yet, while on the brink I stand;
Rebuke these storms, and set me safe on land.
O make my longings and thy mercy sure!
Thou art the God of power."

This letter needs no comment; it shows an ardent mind, wholly occupied in pursuit of a saving knowledge of God; but embarrassed and perplexed, not knowing which way to turn, and yet willing to sacrifice the dearest object in life to obtain the end in view.

Mr. Morgan had now been ill more than twelve months; and was so greatly reduced, that he became a burden to himself, and totally useless to others. In this stage of his disease, his understanding sometimes appeared deranged; he became more changeable in his temper than usual, and inconsistent in his conversation. But this was purely the effect of his disease, not the least symptom of the kind having ever appeared, till long after his health had declined.

His father being fully informed of the state of his health, wrote to him in March, and told him that he should no longer be limited in his expences to any fixed allowance; that such sums as were necessary for his health should be immediately remitted to him: but strongly insisted that no part of it should be given away; that he should lay it out in recreation, medicine, and such other matters as might be necessary for the recovery and support of his health. He then says, " You cannot conceive what a noise that ridiculous Society which you are engaged in, has made here. Besides the particulars of the great follies of it at Oxford, which to my great concern I have often heard repeated; it gave me sensible trouble to hear, that you were noted for going into the villages about Holt; calling their children together, and teaching them their prayers and catechism, and giving them a shilling at your departure. I could not but advise with a wise, pious, and learned clergyman; he

told me that he has known the worst of consequences follow from such blind zeal; and plainly satisfied me that it was a thorough mistake of true piety and religion. I proposed writing to some prudent and good man at Oxford to reason with you on these points, and to convince you that you were in a wrong way. He said, in a generous mind, as he took yours to be, the admonition and advice of a father would make a deeper impression than all the exhortations of others. He concluded, that you were young as yet, and that your judgment was not come to its maturity; but as soon as your judgment improved, and on the advice of a true friend, you would see the error of your way; and think, as he does, that you may walk uprightly and safely, without endeavouring to out-do all the good Bishops, Clergy, and other pious and good men of the present and past ages: which God Almighty give you grace and sense to understand aright."

It may justly be observed, that this letter also needs no comment. It discovers a mind totally unacquainted with divine things, and nearly as ignorant of genuine morality as of vital religion; as devoid of the love of our neighbour as of the love of God.

In the month of April Mr. Samuel Wesley visited Oxford, and spent a few days there; no doubt with a view chiefly to satisfy himself on the spot, of the truth or falsehood of the various accounts that were given him of his two brothers. When he returned to London, he wrote a hasty poetical epistle to his brother Charles, in which he has clearly expressed his opinion of their conduct, and the views he had formed of their opponents. The latter part of it refers to the unhappy situation of Mr. Morgan.

"April 20, 1732.

"Though neither are o'erstock'd with precious time,
If I can write it, you may read my rhyme;
And find an hour to answer, I suppose,
In verse harmonious or in humble prose;
What I when late at Oxford could not say,
My friends so numerous, and so short my stay.

" Let useless questions first aside be thrown,
Which all men may reply to, or that none:
As whether Doctors doubt the D— will die;
Or F—— still retains his courtesy?
Or J——n dies daily in conceit,
Dies without death, and walks without his feet?
What time the library completes its shell?
What hand revives the discipline of Fell?
What house for learning shall rewards prepare,
Which orators and poets justly share,
And see a second Atterbury there.

" Say, does your christian purpose still proceed,
T' assist in every shape the wretches' need?
To free the prisoner from his anxious gaol,
When friends forsake him, and relations fail?
Or yet with noble charity conspire
To snatch the guilty from eternal fire?
Has your small squadron firm in trial stood,
Without preciseness, singularly good?
Safe march they on 'twixt dangerous extremes
Of mad profaneness and enthusiasts' dreams?
Constant in prayer, while God approves their pains,
His spirit cheers them and his blood sustains?
Unmov'd by pride or anger, can they hear
The foolish laughter, or the envious fleer?
No wonder wicked men blaspheme their care,
The devil always dreads offensive war;
Where heav'nly Zeal the sons of Night pursues,
Likely to gain, and certain not to lose;
The sleeping conscience wakes by dangers near,
And pours the light in, they so greatly fear."

But hold, perhaps this dry religious toil,
May damp the genius, and the scholar spoil.
Perhaps facetious foes, to meddling fools
Shine in the class, and sparkle in the schools:
Your art excel, your eloquence outgo,
And soar like Virgil, or like Tully flow;
Have brightest turns and deepest learning shewn,
And prov'd your wit mistaken by their own.
If not—the wights should moderately rail,
Whose total merit summ'd from fair detail
Is saunt'ring, sleep, and smoke, and wine, and ale.

How contraries may meet without design!
And pretty gentlemen and bigots join!
A pert young Rake observes with saucy airs,
That none can know the world, who say their pray'rs:
And Rome in middle ages us'd to grant,
The most devout were still most ignorant.
So when old bloody Noll our ruin wrought
Was ignorance the best devotion thought;
His crop-hair'd saints all marks of sense deface,
And preach that learning is a foe to grace:
English was spoke in Schools, and Latin ceas'd,
They quite reform'd the language of the Beast.

"One or two questions more before I end,
That much concern a brother and a friend.
Does John seem bent beyond his strength to go,
To his frail carcase literally foe?
Lavish of health, as if in haste to die,
And shorten time, t' ensure eternity?
Does M—— weakly think his time mispent?
Of his best actions can he now repent?
Others, their sins with reason just deplore,
The guilt remaining when the pleasure's o'er;
Since the foundations of the world were laid,
Shall he for virtue first himself upbraid?
Shall he, what most men to their sins deny,
Shew pain for alms, remorse for piety?
Can he the sacred Eucharist decline?
What Clement poisons here the bread and wine?
Or does his sad disease possess him whole,
And taint alike his body and his soul?
If to renounce his graces he decree,
O! that he could transfer the stock to me!
Alas! enough what mortal e'r can do,
For him who made him and redeem'd him too?
Zeal may to man beyond desert be shew'd,
No Supererogation stands to God."

In April this year, Mr. Clayton joined their little Society, and about the same time Mr. Ingham, Mr. Broughton, Mr. Hervey, and one or two of John and Charles Wesley's pupils. They were all zealous members of the Church of England; not only tenacious of all her doctrines, as far as they yet understood them, but of all her discipline, to the

minutest circumstance. By the advice of Mr. Clayton, they now added to their former practices, a regular observance of the fasts of the Church; the general neglect of which they thought, was by no means a sufficient excuse for neglecting them.

For some years before this, Mr. Wesley had frequently read over, with great attention, Mr. Law's Christian Perfection, and his Serious Call to a Holy Life; and, as his practice was, had made extracts from them. He had conceived an high opinion of the Author from his writings, having often been instructed by them. Being in London, in the month of July, he went down to Putney, to pay Mr. Law a visit, which was the introduction to a personal acquaintance with each other. Mr. Wesley occasionally repeated his visits, and a friendly correspondence followed, which lasted several years. At one of their interviews, Mr. Law observed to Mr. Wesley, "You would have a philosophical religion: but there can be no such thing. Religion is the most simple thing in the world. It is only, *We love him because he first loved us.*" This remark, as Mr. Wesley often observed, he never afterwards forgot. Another time Mr. Law perceiving Mr. Wesley much dejected, enquired the reason. "Because," says he, "I see so little fruit of all my labours." "My dear friend," replied Mr. Law, "you reverse matters from their proper order. You are to follow the Divine light, wherever it leads you, in all your conduct. It is God alone that gives the blessing. I pray you always mind your own work, and go on with cheerfulness: and God, you may depend upon it, will take care of *his*. Besides, Sir, I perceive you would fain convert the world. But you must wait God's own time. Nay, if after all he is pleased to use you only *as a hewer of wood, or a drawer of water*, you should submit, yea, you should be thankful to him that he has honoured you so far." This advice also, as Mr. Wesley repeatedly acknowledged, "was rendered very profitable to him."

From the time of his acquaintance with Mr. Law, Mr. Wesley began to read the *Theologia Germanica*, and other mystic authors. But although he was pleased and perhaps too much captivated with the views which *some* of these writers gave him of religion, as consisting chiefly in contemplation, and inward attention to our own mind; it does not appear, that he was less diligent in the instituted means of grace, nor less active in doing good to others than before.—He was now known to many pious and respectable persons in London, who began to take notice of him. He heartily approved of the conduct of those well disposed persons, who associated together, to carry on a plan for suppressing vice, and spreading religion and true virtue among the people; and on the 3d of August, was admitted into the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge *

* In the reign of James II. the fear of Popery was so strong, as well as just, that many, in and about London, began to meet often together, both for devotion, and their further instruction. Things of that kind, had been formerly practised only among the Puritans, and the Dissenters; but these were of the Church, and came to their Ministers to be assisted; and were chiefly directed by Dr. Beveridge and Dr. Horneck. After the Revolution in 1688, these Societies became more numerous, and for the greater encouragement of devotion, they got such collections to be made, as maintained many Clergymen, to read prayers in such a number of places, and at such different hours, that devout persons might have that comfort at every hour in the day. There were constant sacraments every Lord's-day in many churches; and there were greater numbers, and greater appearances of devotion, at prayers and sacraments, than had ever been observed in the memory of man. These Societies resolved to inform the Magistrates of swearers, drunkards, profaners of the Lord's-day, and of lewd houses; and they threw in that part of the fine, given by the law to informers, into a stock of charity. From this they were called *Societies of Reformation*. Some good Magistrates encouraged them; others treated them roughly. As soon as Queen Mary heard of this, she encouraged these good designs by her letters and proclamations; and King William afterwards did the same. Other Societies set themselves to raise charity schools for teaching poor children, for clothing them, and binding them out to trades; and many books were printed, and sent over the nation, to be freely distributed. These were called *Societies for Propagating Christian Knowledge*. At last a Corporation was created by King William, for propagating the Gospel among infidels, for settling schools in our plantations, for furnishing the Clergy that were sent thither, and for sending Missionaries among such of our plantations, as were not able to provide Pastors for themselves. It was a glorious conclusion of

Mr. Wesley, and those associated with him, now suffered the entire loss of Mr. Morgan, who had been the foremost in promoting their pious endeavours to do good. He left Oxford on the 5th of June, and died in Dublin on the 26th of August. That this is the true time of his death, is evident from a letter of Mr. Morgan the father, to Mr. Charles Wesley, dated September the 5th. He says, "From the intimacy which I understood to have been contracted between you and my dear son, I make no doubt but you must have some concern upon you at reading the account of his death, as I have the greatest in writing it. His distemper threw him into a fever, of which he died the 26th past, about four in the morning. This is the soonest that I could attempt writing any thing about him, since my affliction was consummated.—You see I make very free with you, but the candour and generosity which I have heard you commended for, embolden me to it; and I shall, I hope, find some opportunities to make amends, and beg you will, upon all occasions, let me know, when I can be serviceable to you in this kingdom."

As we believe the following Elegy on the Death of this pious and amiable young gentleman, published in Mr. Wesley's Journal, will be acceptable to our readers, we give it a place in this Work.

ON THE DEATH OF MR. MORGAN, OF CHRIST-CHURCH;

BY THE REV. SAMUEL WESLEY.

"WE FOOLS COUNTED HIS LIFE MADNESS."

IF ought beneath them happy souls attend,
Let MORGAN hear the triumph of a friend,
And hear well-pleas'd. Let Libertines so gay
With careless indolence despise the Lay;

a reign that began with preserving our religion, and ended with creating a Corporation for promoting it, among infidels, to the remoter parts of the earth. The Bishops, and Clergy, contributed liberally to it. Upon Queen Anne's accession to the Crown, she continued to them the same favour and protection. See Burnett's History of his own Time, vol. v. page 90, &c.

Let critic wits, and fools for laughter born
Their verdict pass with supercilious scorn;
Let jovial crowds, by wine their senses drown'd,
Stammer out censure in their frantic round;
Let yawning sluggards faint dislike display,
Who, while they trust to-morrow, lose to-day;
Let such as these the sacred strains condemn;
For 'tis true glory to be hiss'd by them.
Wise in his prime, he waited not for noon,
Convinc'd that mortal never liv'd too soon.
As if foreboding then his little stay,
He bade his morning bear the heat of day.
Fix'd, while unfading glory he pursues,
No ill to hazard, and no good to lose,
No fair occasion glides unheeded by;
Snatching the golden moments as they fly,
He by few fleeting hours ensures eternity.
Friendship's warm beams his artless breast inspire,
And tend'rest rev'rence for a much lov'd sire,
He dar'd for heav'n this flatt'ring world forego,
Ardent to teach, as diligent to know.
Unwarp'd by sensual views, or vulgar aims,
By idle riches, or by idler names.
Fearful of sin in every close disguise,
Unmov'd by threat'ning or by glozing lies,
Seldom indeed the wicked came so far,
Forc'd by his piety to defensive war;
Whose zeal for other men's salvation shown,
Beyond the reach of hell secur'd his own.
Gladd'ning the poor, where'er his steps he turn'd,
Where pin'd the orphan, or the widow mourn'd
Where prisoners sigh'd beneath guilt's horrid stain,
The worst confinement and the heaviest chain.
Where death's sad shade th' uninstructed sight
Veil'd with thick darkness in the land of light.
Our Saviour thus fulfill'd his great design,
(If human we may liken to divine)
Heal'd each disease that bodies frail endure,
And preach'd th' unhop'd for Gospel to the poor.
To means of grace the last respect he shew'd,
Nor sought new paths, as wiser than his God:
Their sacred strength preserv'd him from extremes
Of empty outside or enthusiast dreams;
Whims of Molinos, lost in rapture's mist,
Or, Quaker, late reforming quietist.

He knew that works our faith must here employ,
And that 'tis heaven's great business to enjoy.
Fix'd on that heav'n he death's approaches saw,
Nor vainly murmur'd at our nature's law;
Repin'd not that his youth so soon should go,
Nor griev'd for fleeting pleasures here below.
Of sharpest anguish scorning to complain,
He fills with mirth the intervals of pain.
Not only unappall'd but joyful sees
The dark, cold passage that must lead to peace;
Strong with immortal bloom secure to rise,
The tears for ever banish'd from his eyes.
Who now regrets his early youth would spend
The life so nobly that so soon should end?
Who blames the stripling for performing more
Than doctors grave and prelates of threescore?
Who now esteems his fervour indiscreet,
His prayers too frequent, or his alms too great?
Who thinks, where blest he reigns beyond the sky,
His crown too radiant, or his throne too high?
Who but the fiend, who once his course withstood
And whisper'd——"Stay till fifty to be good?"
Sure, if believ'd, t' obtain his hellish aim,
Adjourning to the time that never came.

uring the course of this summer, Mr. Wesley made two neys to Epworth. In these excursions he often went iderably out of his way, to spend a night and some- s two or three, with a friend; most frequently with parents or relations of some of his pupils. In the first ney, while he was standing on the garden wall at a d's house, it fell flat under him: but he escaped un- . His second journey was in order to meet his brother uel, &c. at Epworth, and that the whole family might more assemble together, before their final separation leath. This meeting must have been very affecting: eir father was grown infirm, and his son Samuel was going to reside wholly at Tiverton, in Devon, it was probable they would ever see each other again.—Mr. sley returned to Oxford on the 23d of September; and on as it was known there that Mr. Morgan was dead, a

report was propagated, that the rigorous fasting he had imposed on himself, by the advice of Mr. John and Charles Wesley, had hastened his death. As this report was highly prejudicial to their character, and might hinder their usefulness; and as it was probable it would reach the father, and might afflict him, and prejudice him more deeply against his son's conduct, and the persons with whom he had been connected, Mr. Wesley thought it best to write to him, and state the matter as it really was. His letter is dated the 18th of October, this year.* "The occasion (says he) of giving you this trouble, is of a very extraordinary nature. On Sunday last I was informed, as no doubt you will be ere long, that my brother and I had killed your son: that the rigorous fasting which he had imposed upon himself by our advice, had increased his illness and hastened his death. Now, though considering it in itself, *it is a very small thing with me to be judged of man's judgment;* yet as the being thought guilty of so mischievous an imprudence, might make me less able to do the work I came into the world for, I am obliged to clear myself of it, by observing to you, as I have done to others, that your son left off fasting about a year and a half since, and that it is not yet half a year since I began to practise it.

"I must not let this opportunity slip of doing my part towards giving you a juster notion of some other particulars, relating both to him and myself, which have been industriously misrepresented to you.

"In March last he received a letter from you, which not being able to read, he desired me to read to him; several of the expressions I perfectly remember, and shall do till I too am called hence:—In one practice for which you blamed

* In all the printed copies of this letter which we have seen, the date is 1730: but in a manuscript, in Mr. Charles Wesley's hand-writing, the date is 1732; which is the true date of it, as appears from Mr. Morgan's account of his son's death. The true date may be collected from the letter itself, compared with Mr. John Wesley's Short History of Methodism, which fixes the time when they became acquainted with Mr. Clayton.

your son, I am only concerned as a friend, not as a partner.—Your own account of it was in *effect* this: He frequently went into poor people's houses about Holt, called their children together and instructed them in their duty to God, their neighbour, and themselves. He likewise explained to them the necessity of private as well as public prayer, and provided them with such forms as were best suited to their several capacities; and being well apprized how the success of his endeavours depended on their good will towards him, he sometimes distributed among them a little of that money which he had saved from gaming and other fashionable expences of the place.——This is the first charge against him, and I will refer it to your own judgment, whether it be fitter to have a place in the catalogue of his faults or of those virtues for which he is *now numbered among the sons of God.*

"If all the persons concerned in that ridiculous society, whose follies you have so often heard repeated, could but give such a proof of their deserving the glorious title which was once bestowed upon them, they would be contented that their *lives too should be counted madness, and their end thought to be without honour.* But the truth is, their title to holiness stands upon much less stable foundations; as you will easily perceive when you know the ground of this wonderful outcry, which it seems England itself is not wide enough to contain."

He then gives Mr. Morgan a short history of their little society, informing him what their practices were, and of their care to consult wise, learned, and pious Clergymen, in every step they had taken, in the manner described above. He subjoins, "As for the names of Methodists, Supererogation-men, and so on, with which some of our neighbours are pleased to compliment us, we do not conceive ourselves to be under any obligation to regard them, much less to take them for arguments. To the law and to the testimony we appeal whereby we ought to be judged. If by these it can be proved we are in error, we will immediately and gladly retract it: if not, *we have not so learned Christ,*

as to renounce any part of his service, though men should say all manner of evil against us, with more judgment and as little truth as hitherto.—Your son already stands before the judgment-seat of him who judges righteous judgment; at the brightness of whose presence the clouds remove; his eyes are open and he sees clearly whether it was, 'Blind zeal and a thorough mistake of true religion that hurried him on in the error of his way,' or whether he acted like a faithful and wise servant, who from a just sense that his time was short, made haste to finish his work before his Lord's coming, that when *laid in the balance*, he might not *be found wanting*."

This well-timed letter, containing a simple narrative of facts, fully satisfied Mr. Morgan, and gave him a better opinion of the Society with which his son had been connected. His answer, which is dated November 25, shews him to have been a man of moderation, and, although not much acquainted with it, yet not unfriendly to piety. It is as follows. "Your favour of the 20th past was delayed in its passage, I believe by contrary winds, or it had not been so long unanswered. I give entire credit to every thing and every fact you relate. It was ill-judged of my poor son to take to fasting with regard to his health, which I knew nothing of, or I should have advised him against it. He was inclined to piety and virtue from his infancy. I must own I was much concerned at the strange accounts which were spread here, of some extraordinary practices of a religious Society in which he had engaged at Oxford, which you may be sure lost nothing in the carriage, lest through his youth and immaturity of judgment he might be hurried into zeal and enthusiastic notions that would prove pernicious. But now, indeed, that piety and holiness of life which he practised, affords me some comfort in the midst of my affliction for the loss of him; having full assurance of his being happy for ever. The good account you are pleased to give of your own and your friend's conduct in point of duty and religious offices, and the zealous approbation of them by the good old gentleman your father,

signified in a manner and style becoming the best of men, reconciles and recommends that method of life to me, and makes me almost wish that I were one amongst you. I am very much obliged to you, for the great pains you have been at in transcribing so long and so particular an account for my perusal, and shall be always ready to vindicate you from any calumny or aspersion that I shall hear cast upon you. I am much obliged for your and your brother's great civilities and assistances to my dearest son: I thank the author of those lines you sent me, for the regard he has shewn to his memory. If ever I can be serviceable to any of you in this kingdom, I beg you will let me know."

A correspondence took place between Mr. Wesley and Mr. Morgan, and the year following Mr. Morgan sent the only son he now had, to Oxford, and placed him under Mr. Wesley's care; which was the strongest proof he could possibly give, that he approved of his conduct.

During the two last years Mr. Wesley made frequent excursions to London, and different parts of the country, besides his journeys to Epworth, and the places he visited in his way thither and back, all of which he performed on foot. He observes in his Diary, that he had walked about 1050 miles; we suppose he means within the year he is speaking of. In these excursions he constantly preached on the Lord's-day, if he had an opportunity; so that he might now be called, in some sort, an Itinerant Preacher, though on a plan very different from that which he afterwards adopted, and of which he could not at this time have the most distant conception.

By reading Mr. Law's Christian Perfection, and his Serious Call to a Holy Life, he was confirmed in the views he before had of the effects the gospel is intended to produce on the minds of those who sincerely embrace it; and was fully convinced of the absurdity and danger of being an half Christian. On the 1st of January 1733, he preached at St. Mary's, Oxford before the University, on *the circumcision of the heart*. In this discourse, which is printed in his collection of Sermons, he has explained with great

clearness, and energy of language, his views of the Christian salvation to be attained in this life; in which he never varied, in any material point, to the day of his death. He was indeed, at this time, almost wholly ignorant of the gospel method of attaining this salvation, but he sought it with his whole heart, according to the knowlege he then had, and was willing to sacrifice the dearest thing he had in the world for the attainment of it.

His father was now in a bad state of health, and seemed declining apace. On this account he set out on horseback for Epworth, in the beginning of January. As he was passing over the bridge beyond Daintry, his horse fell over it with him; but he again escaped unhurt. When the events of life glide smoothly on, and follow certain previous circumstances in regular succession, we see nothing wonderful in them, because there seems to be some common principle on which the succession depends. But in extraordinary deliverances from danger, and in many other instances of human affairs, we plainly perceive, there is no such principle, which connects the previous circumstances with the following event: the interposition of Providence, almost stands visible before our eyes, and a strong conviction of it takes place in the mind, which nothing but inattention or false reasoning can obliterate. On these occasions Mr. Wesley did not fail to return God the tribute of praise and thanksgiving, and renewed his diligence in serving him.

The state of his father's health occasioned his parents to turn their thoughts to the means of obtaining the living of Epworth for him, in case of his father's demise. The thing was mentioned to him when he was now with them, but he seems to have given them little answer. After his return to Oxford, in February, he wrote to his mother on the subject. "You observe, (says he,) when I was with you, that I was very indifferent as to the having or not having the Living of Epworth. I was indeed utterly unable to determine either way; and that for this reason: I know if I could stand my ground here, and approve myself a faithful minister of our blessed Jesus, by honour and dishonour, through

evil report and good report; then there would not be a place under heaven like this, for improvement in every good work. But whether I can stem the torrent which I saw then, but see now much more, rolling down from all sides upon me, that I know not. It is true, there is one who can yet, either command the great water-flood that it shall not come nigh me, or make a way for his redeemed to pass through. But then something must be done on my part: and should he give me, even that most equitable condition, *according to thy faith be it unto thee*, yet how shall I fulfil it! Why he will look to that too.—My father and you helping with your prayers, that our faith fail us not."

The difficulties which Mr. Wesley foresaw, did not arise from any new persecution which threatened him, but from the danger of unsteadiness in the young gentlemen, who had for some time met with him. He easily perceived, that unless he could overcome this difficulty, there was but little prospect of doing any lasting good in his present situation. And it must be confessed, that, though his practice gives the most convincing evidence of his integrity, disinterestedness, and sincere desire to serve God, yet, there were few young men who had sufficient resolution to persevere therein. His frequent absence too, could have no good influence upon them, as his own example, regularity, steadiness, and advice, were the principal means of preserving them in the same disposition with himself. But it seems that he did not attend to this circumstance at present; for in May, he set out again for Epworth, and took Manchester in his way, to see his friend Mr. Clayton, who had now left Oxford. From thence he proceeded to Epworth, and returned to Manchester on Saturday the 2d of June. The next day he preached three times, once at the Old Church, again in Salford, and at St. Anne's. When he reached Oxford, he perceived the bad effects of his absence upon his pupils, and the members of their little Society. He now found himself surrounded with enemies triumphing over him, and friends deserting him; he saw the fruits of his labours in danger of being blasted before they had attained maturity.

But he stood firm as a rock; and being conscious of his own integrity, that he had nothing in view but to serve God in righteousness and true holiness, and to benefit his neighbour, he viewed his situation without any great emotion: no gusts of passion rose to cloud his understanding, no fear to damp his zeal; he was enabled to say, the Eternal God is my refuge, I will not fear. He wrote to his father in the simplicity and fulness of his heart; and this letter shews the man, and his manner of viewing difficulties, infinitely better than any description which another can give of him.

This letter is dated the 13th of June, and runs thus:—

"The effects of my last journey I believe will make me more cautious of staying any time from Oxford for the future; at least till I have no pupils to take care of, which probably may be within a year or two. One of my young gentlemen told me at my return, that he was more and more afraid of singularity; another that he had read an excellent piece of Mr. Locke's, which had convinced him of the mischief of regarding authority. Both of them agreed, that the observing Wednesday as a Fast was an unnecessary singularity; the Catholic Church (that is, the majority of it) having long since repealed by a contrary custom, the injunction she formerly gave concerning it. A third, who could not yield to this argument, has been convinced by a fever, and Dr. Frewin. Our seven and twenty communicants at St. Mary's were on Monday shrunk to five: and the day before, the last of Mr. Clayton's pupils, who continued with us, informed me, that he did not design to meet us any more."

"My ill success, (as they call it,) seems to be what has frightened every one away from a falling house. On Sunday I was considering the matter a little more nearly; and imagined that all the ill consequences of my singularity, were reduceable to three; diminution of fortune, loss of friends, and of reputation. As to my fortune, I well know, though perhaps others do not, that I could not have borne a larger than I have: and as for that most plausible excuse for desiring it, 'While I have so little I cannot do the good I

would;' I ask, can I do the good God would have me do? It is enough. I look no further.—For friends, they were either trifling or serious: if triflers, fare them well; a noble escape: if serious, those who are more serious are left, whom the others would rather have opposed than forwarded in the service they have done, and still do us. If it be said, but these may leave you too; for they are no firmer than the others were. First I doubt that fact; but next, suppose they should, we hope then they would only teach us a nobler and harder lesson, than any they have done hitherto; *It is better to trust in the Lord, than to put any confidence in man.* And as for reputation, though it be a glorious instrument of advancing our Master's service, yet there is a better than that, a *clean heart*, a single eye, a soul full of God! A fair exchange, if by the loss of reputation we can purchase the lowest degree of purity of heart! We beg my mother and you would not cease to work together with us, that whatever we lose, we may gain this; and that having tasted of this good gift, we may count all things else but dung and dross in comparison of it."

Mr. Wesley now redoubled his diligence with his pupils, that he might recover the ground he had lost. His pupils indeed continued with him whether they adopted his religious practices or not. But as he had been blamed for singularity, both by friends and enemies, and many had thought that he too rigorously imposed some particular practices upon others; he informs his mother what the singularity was which chiefly gave offence at Oxford, and explains the methods he made use of with his pupils, to instruct them in the things of God. This letter is dated August the 17th;—"The thing," says he, "that gives offence here is, the being singular with regard to time, expence, and company. This is evident beyond exception from the case of Mr. Smith, one of our Fellows; who no sooner began to husband his time, to retrench unnecessary expences, and to avoid his irreligious acquaintance, but he was set upon by, not only all these acquaintances, but many others too, as if he had entered into a conspiracy to

cut all their throats; though to this day he has not advised any single person, unless in a word or two and by accident, to act as he did in any of those instances.

"It is true indeed, that 'the devil hates offensive war most, and that whoever tries to rescue more than his own soul from his hands, will have more enemies, and meet with greater opposition, than if he was content with *having his own life for a prey.*" That I try to do this, is likewise certain: but I cannot say whether I 'rigorously impose any observations on others,' till I know what that phrase means. What I do is this: When I am intrusted with a person who is first to understand and practise, and then to teach the law of Christ, I endeavour by an intermixture of reading and conversation, to shew him what that law is; that is, to renounce all unsubordinate love of the world, and to love and obey God with all his strength. When he appears seriously sensible of this, I propose to him the means God hath commanded him to use, in order to that end; and a week, or a month, or a year after, as the state of his soul seems to require it, the several prudential means recommended by wise and good men. As to the times, order, measure, and manner, wherein these are to be proposed, I depend upon the Holy Spirit to direct me, in and by my own experience and reflection, joined to the advices of my religious friends here and elsewhere. Only two rules it is my principle to observe in all cases; first, to begin, continue, and end all my advices in the spirit of meekness; as knowing that *the wrath* or severity *of man worketh not the righteousness of God*; and secondly, to add to meekness long-suffering: in pursuance of a rule which I fixt long since, 'never to give up any one till I have tried him, at least ten years. How long hath God had pity on thee?'

"If the wise and good will believe these falsehoods which the bad invent, because I endeavour to save myself and my friends from them, then I shall lose my reputation, even among them, for (though not perhaps good, yet) the best actions I ever did in my life. This is the very case. I try to act as my Lord commands: ill men say all manner of

evil of me, and good men believe them. There is a way, and there is but one, of making my peace; Gor forbid I should ever take it. I have as many pupils as I need, and as many friends: when more are better for me I shall have more. If I have no more pupils after these are gone from me, I shall then be glad of a curacy near you: if I have, I shall take it as a signal that I am to remain here. Whether here or there, my desire is, to know and feel that I am nothing, that I have nothing, and that I can do nothing. For whenever I am empty of myself, then know I of a surety, that neither friends nor foes, nor any creature, can hinder me from being *filled with all the fullness of God.* Let not my father's, or your prayers be ever slack in behalf of your affectionate son."

On the 21st of September this year, Mr. Wesley began the practice of reading as he travelled on horseback; and this practice he continued for near forty years, till his infirmities obliged him to travel in a carriage. His frequent journeys, often on foot as well as on horseback, and the great and constant labour of preaching, reading, visiting, &c. wherever he was, with hard study and a very abstemious diet, had now very much affected his health. His strength was greatly reduced, and he had frequent returns of spitting of blood. In the night of the 16th of July, he had a return of it in such quantity as waked him out of his sleep. The sudden and unexpected manner of its coming on, with the solemnity of the night season, made eternity seem near. He cried to God: "O! prepare me for thy coming, and come when thou wilt."* His friends began to be alarmed for his safety; and his mother wrote two or three letters blaming him for the general neglect of his health. He now took the advice of a physician or two, and by proper care and a prudent management of his daily exercise, he gradually lost his complaints, and recovered his strength.

* Private Diary.

Towards the end of this year, he turned his thoughts to a subject of vast importance in Christian experience; *The Presence of God with his people.* But he found it too great for him to comprehend. He talked with Mr. Law, and wrote to his mother upon it; but he received little or no information from either of them. They all seem to have inquired into the nature and manner of the Divine presence, rather than into the evidences of it. His mother's answer is dated January 1, 1734: she confesses that she did not understand the subject, and that, in this respect, she still worshipped an unknown God. Nothing indeed is more certain than this, that the manner of the Divine presence and operations, both in the works of nature and grace, is incomprehensible to us, at the same time that the effects produced, demonstrate his presence and power. Through the want of this distinction many have run into great errors in explaining the influence of Divine grace on the human mind, and some have even denied it; though to him who rightly understands the Scriptures, and has any degree of Christian experience, the effects of it clearly demonstrate a Divine influence, as the works of nature shew the existence of God, though the manner of his presence and operation in both is inexplicable.

The whole force of Mr. Wesley's mind was now bent on religious subjects. In reflecting on the progress of the soul to an entire conformity to the will of God and a fitness for heaven, he thought that different degrees of virtue are different states of mind; that is, of the understanding, will, and affections; and that we must pass through the lower states before we can arrive at the higher; so that Christian experience is a progressive work; in which the first step prepares the mind for the second, and so on through the whole of our progress. He observes, however that there are certain states of mind which are more strongly marked than others; and that these states ascertain our progress with some degree of certainty. He wrote to his mother on this subject. She answered in a letter of January, "You are entirely in the right in what you say in the second paragraph of your letter. The different degrees of virtue and piety are diffe-

rent states of soul, which must be passed through gradually: For, in all matters of religion, if there be not an internal sense in the hearer corresponding to the sense in the mind of the speaker, what is said will have no effect: this I have often experienced: yet sometimes it falls out, that while a zealous Christian is discoursing on spiritual subjects, the Blessed Spirit of God will give such light to the minds of those who hear him as dispels their native darkness, and enables them to apprehend those spiritual things of which before they had no discernment."——In this letter she addresses a pupil of Mr. Wesley's, who appears to have despised religion.—"Tell him from me (says she) I am as good as my word, I daily pray for him, and beg of him if he have the least regard for his soul, or have yet any remaining sense of religion in his mind, to shake off all acquaintance with the profane and irregular: for it is the free-thinker and sensualist not the despised Methodist, who will be ashamed and confounded when summoned to appear before the face of the Almighty Judge, whose Godhead they have blasphemed, and whose offered mercy they despised and ludicrously rejected. The pleasures of sin are but for a short uncertain time, but eternity hath no end. Therefore one would think that few arguments might serve to convince a man who has not lost his senses, that it is of the last importance for us to be very serious in improving the present time, and acquainting ourselves with God, while it is called *to-day;* lest being disqualified for his blissful presence, our future existence be inexpressibly miserable."

Mr. Wesley, and those associated with him, were not only zealous of good works before men, but they were severe and strict in examining themselves in the closet. Each had a string of questions, by which he examined both his actions and his motives in performing them, and also the temper of his mind on every occasion that occurred. It would be too long to insert their whole scheme of self-examination, as it related to every part of duty: We shall therefore only give a specimen of it.

1. Have I embraced every probable opportunity of doing good, and of preventing, removing, or lessening evil? 2. Have I thought any thing too dear to part with, to serve my neighbour? 3. Have I spent an hour at least, every day, in speaking to some one or other? 4. Have I, in speaking to a stranger, explained what religion is not, (not negative, not external) and what it is, the recovery of the image of God; searched at what step in it he stops, and what makes him stop; 5. Have I persuaded all I could to attend public prayers, sermons, and sacraments? and in general, to obey the laws of the Church universal, the Church of England, the State, the University, and their respective Colleges? 6. Have I, after every visit, asked him who went with me, did I say any thing wrong? 7. Have I, when any one asked advice, directed and exhorted him, with all my power? 8. Have I rejoiced with and for my neighbour, in virtue, or pleasure? Grieved with him in pain, and for him in sin? 9. Has good-will been, and appeared to be, the spring of all my actions towards others? &c. &c. for their scheme of self-examination extended to a very considerable length.

His father's health had been on the decline for several years, and he now seemed to be approaching towards the close of life. The old gentleman, conscious of his situation, and desirous that the living of Epworth should remain in the family, wrote to his son John, requesting him to apply for the next presentation. We have already seen, that, when the subject was mentioned to him last year, he hesitated, and could not determine one way or the other. But now he was determined not to accept of the living, if he could obtain it, and stated to his father, some reasons for refusing to comply with this request. His father and brother Samuel were disappointed, and both attacked him, with every argument they could possibly bring to bear upon him. He acted on the defensive only, and maintained his ground. But the mode of attack, and of his defence, will give us the best view of his principles and disposition of mind at this time.

His father's letter is dated November 20, and runs as follows:—"Your state of the question, and only argument is: 'The question is not, whether I could do more good to others, *there* or *here*; but whether I could do more good to myself; seeing wherever I can be the most holy myself, there I can most promote holiness in others. But I can improve myself more at Oxford than any other place.'

"To this I answer, 1. It is not dear *self*, but the glory of God, and the different degrees of promoting it, which should be our main consideration, and direction in any course of life. Witness St. Paul and Moses. 2. Supposing you could be more holy yourself at Oxford, how does it follow that you could more promote holiness in others, *there* than *elsewhere*? Have you found many instances of it, after so many years' hard pains and labour? Further, I dare say, you are more modest and just than to say, there are no holier men than you at Oxford; and yet it is possible they may not have promoted holiness more than you have done: as I doubt not but you might have done it much more, had you taken the right method. For there is a particular turn of mind for these matters: great prudence as well as great fervour.

"3. I cannot allow austerity, or fasting, considered by themselves, to be proper acts of holiness, nor am I for a solitary life. God made us for a social life; we are not to bury our talents; we are to let our light shine before men, and that not barely through the chinks of a Bushel, for fear the wind should blow it out. The design of lighting it was, that it might give light to all that went into the house of God. And to this, academical studies are only preparatory.

4. "You are sensible what figures those make, who stay in the university till they are superannuated. I cannot think drowsiness promotes holiness. How commonly do they drone away their lives, either in a college, or in a country parsonage, where they can only give God the snuffs of

them, having nothing of life or vigour left to make them useful in the world.

"5. We are not to fix our eye on one single point of duty, but to take in the complicated view of all the circumstances in every state of life that offers. Thus in the case before us, put all the circumstances together: if you are not indifferent whether the labours of an aged father for above forty years in God's vineyard be lost, and the fences of it trodden down and destroyed; if you consider that Mr. M. must, in all probability, succeed me, if you do not, and that the prospect of that mighty Nimrod's coming hither shocks my soul, and is in a fair way of bringing down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave: if you have any care for our family, which must be dismally shattered as soon as I am dropt: if you reflect on the dear love and longing which this poor people has for you, whereby you will be enabled to do God the most service, and the plentiousness of the harvest, consisting of near two thousand souls, whereas you have not many more scholars in the university; you may, perhaps, alter your mind, and bend your will to his, who has promised, if in all our ways we acknowledge him, he will direct our paths."

The old gentleman wrote to his son Samuel on the subject, who warmly took part with his father, and wrote to his brother at Oxford in December, 1734.—"Yesterday, (says he) I received a letter from my father, wherein he tells me, you are unalterably resolved not to accept of a certain living if you could get it. After this declaration, I believe no one can move your mind but him who made it. I shall not draw the saw of controversy, and, therefore, though I judge every proposition flatly false, except that of your being assured, yet I shall allow every word, and have, nevertheless, this to say against your conclusions: 1. I see your love to yourself, but your love to your neighbour I do not see. 2. You are not at liberty to resolve against undertaking a cure of souls. You are solemnly engaged to do it, before God, and his high priest, and his

church. Are you not ordained? Did you not deliberately and openly promise to instruct, to teach, to admonish, to exhort these committed to your charge? Did you equivocate then with so vile a reservation, as to purpose in your heart that you would never have any so committed? It is not a college, it is not an university, it is the *order of the church*, according to which you were called. Let Charles, if he is silly enough, vow never to leave Oxford, and, therefore, avoid Orders. Your faith is already plighted to the contrary; *you have put your hand to the plough, to that plough.*"—This is strong language, and the argument, if good, was like playing heavy cannon upon his brother. Mr. John Wesley, however, kept himself within his fortress, and answered his brother Samuel with caution. His letter is dated, January 15, 1735, and having explained himself at some length to his father, he sent a copy of that letter to his brother. He observes, "Had not my brother Charles desired it might be otherwise, I should have sent you only an extract of the following letter. But, if you will be at the pains, you will soon reduce the argument of it, to two or three points, which, if to be answered at all, will be easily answered. By it you may observe my present purpose is founded on my present weakness. But it is not, indeed, probable, that my father should live till that weakness is removed.

"Your second argument I had no occasion to mention before. To it I answer, that I do not, nor ever did resolve against undertaking a cure of souls. There are four cures belonging to our college, and consistent with a fellowship: I do not know but I may take one of them at Michaelmas. Not that I am clearly assured, that I should be false to my engagement, were I only to instruct and exhort the pupils committed to my charge. But of that I should think more."

Though the letter to his father is long, yet it contains such a distinct view of his manner of thinking and reasoning, and of the energy of his language, at this period, that it cannot, with propriety, be omitted.

" DEAR SIR,

" 1st. THE authority of a parent, and the call of Providence, are things of so sacred a nature, that a question in which these are any ways concerned, deserves the most serious consideration. I am, therefore, greatly obliged to you for the pains you have taken to set ours in a clear light; which I now intend to consider more at large, with the utmost attention of which I am capable. And I shall the more cheerfully do it, as being assured of your joining with me in earnestly imploring his guidance, who will not suffer those that bend their wills to his, to seek death in the error of their life.

" 2d. I entirely agree, that 'the glory of God, and the different degrees of promoting it, are to be our sole consideration and direction in the choice of any course of life;' and, consequently, that it must wholly turn upon this single point, whether I am to prefer a college life, or that of a rector of a parish. I do not say the glory of God is to be my first or principal consideration, but my only one: since all that are not implied in this, are absolutely of no weight; in presence of this they all vanish away, they are less than the small dust of the balance.

" 3d. And, indeed, till all other considerations were set aside, I could never come to any clear determination; till my eye was single, my whole mind was full of darkness. Every consideration distinct from this, threw a shadow over all the objects I had in view, and was such a cloud as no light could penetrate. Whereas, so long as I can keep my eye single, and steadily fixed on the glory of God, I have no more doubt of the way wherein I should go, than of the shining of the sun at noon-day.

" 4th. That course of life tends most to the glory of God, wherein we can most promote holiness in ourselves and others. I say in ourselves and others, as being fully persuaded that these can never be put asunder. For how is it possible that the good God should make our interest inconsistent with our neighbour's?—That he should make our being in one state best for ourselves, and our being in an-

other best for the church? This would be making a strange schism in his body; such as surely never was from the beginning of the world. And if not, then whatever state is best on either of these accounts, is so on the other likewise. If it be best for others, then it is so for us; if for us, then for them.

"5th. However, when two ways of life are proposed, I should choose to begin with that part of the question, Which of these have I rational ground to believe will conduce most to my own improvement. And that not only because it is every physician's concern to heal himself first, but because it seems we may judge with more ease, and perhaps certainty too, in which state we can most promote holiness in ourselves, than in which we can in others.

"6th. By holiness, I mean not fasting, or bodily austerity, or any other external means of improvement, but the inward temper, to which all these are subservient, a renewal of the soul in the image of God. I mean a complex habit of lowliness, meekness, purity, faith, hope, and the love of God and man. And I therefore believe, that, in the state wherein I am, I can most promote this holiness in myself, because I now enjoy several advantages, which are almost peculiar to it.

"7th. The first of these, is daily converse with my friends. I know no other place under heaven where I can have always at hand half a dozen persons nearly of my own judgment, and engaged in the same studies. Persons who are awakened into a full and lively conviction, that they have only one work to do upon earth; who are in some measure enlightened so as to see, though at a distance, what that one work is, viz. the recovery of that single intention and pure affection which were in Christ Jesus; who, in order to this, have, according to their power, renounced themselves, and wholly and absolutely devoted themselves to God: and who suitably thereto deny themselves, and take up their cross daily. To have such a number of such friends constantly watching over my soul, and according to the variety of occasions, administering reproof, advice, or

exhortation, with all plainness, and all gentleness, is a blessing I have not yet found any Christians to enjoy in any other part of the kingdom. And such a blessing it is, so conducive, if faithfully used, to the increase of all holiness, as I defy any one to know the full value of, till he receives his full measure of glory.

"8th. Another invaluable blessing which I enjoy here in a greater degree than I could any where else, is retirement. I have not only as much, but as little company as I please. I have no such thing as a trifling visitant, except about an hour in a month, when I invite some of the fellows to breakfast. Unless at that one time, no one ever takes it into his head to set foot within my door, except he has some business of importance to communicate to me, or I to him. And even then, as soon as he has dispatched his business, he immediately takes his leave.

"9th. Both these blessings, the continual presence of useful, and uninterrupted freedom from trifling acquaintance, are exceedingly endeared to me, whenever I have spent but one week out of this place. The far greatest part of the conversation I meet with abroad, even among those whom I believe to be real Christians, turns on points that are absolutely wide of my purpose, that no way forward me in the business of life. Now, though they may have time to spare, I have none; it is absolutely necessary for such a one as me to follow with all possible care and vigilance, that excellent advice of Mr. Herbert,

> Still let thy mind be bent, still plotting where,
> And when, and how, the business may be done.

And this, I bless God, I can in some measure do, so long as I avoid that bane of piety, the company of good sort of men, lukewarm Christians (as they are called), persons that have a great concern for, but no sense of religion. But these undermine insensibly all my resolutions, and quite steal from me the little fervour I have; and I never come from among these *Saints of the World* (as J. Valdesso calls them) faint, dissipated, and shorn of all my strength, but I say, 'God deliver me from a half Christian.'

"10th. Freedom from care I take to be the next greatest advantage to freedom from useless, and therefore hurtful, company. And this too I enjoy in great perfection here than I can ever expect to do any where else. I hear of such a thing as *the cares of this world*, and I read of them, but I know them not. My income is ready for me on so many stated days, and all I have to do is to count and carry it home. The grand article of my expence is food, and this too is provided without any care of mine. I have nothing to do, but at such an hour to take and eat what is prepared for me. My laundress, barber, &c. are always ready at quarter-day, so I have no trouble on account of those expences. And for what I occasionally need, I can be supplied from time to time without any expence of thought. Now to convince me what a help to holiness this is (were not my experience abundantly sufficient) I should need no better authority than St. Paul's, *I would have you be without carefulness. This I speak for your own profit, that ye may attend upon the Lord without distraction.* Happy is he that *careth* only *for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord.* He may *be holy both in body and in spirit*, after the Apostle's judgment, and I think that he had the Spirit of God.

"11th. To quicken me in making a thankful and diligent use of all the other advantages of this place, I have the opportunity of public prayer twice a day, and of weekly communicating. It would be easy to mention many more, and likewise to shew many disadvantages, which a person of greater courage and skill than I, could scarce separate from a country life. But whatever one of experience and resolution might do, I am very sensible I should not be able to turn aside one of the thousand temptations that would immediately rush upon me. I could not stand my ground, no not for one month, against intemperance in sleeping, eating, and drinking; against irregularity in study, against a general lukewarmness in my affections, and remissness in my actions; against softness and self-indulgence, directly opposite to that discipline and hardship

which become a soldier of Jesus Christ. And then, when my spirit was thus dissolved, I should be an easy prey to whatever impertinent company came in my way. Then would the cares of the world, and the desire of other things, roll back with a full tide upon me. It would be no wonder, if, while I *preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away.* I cannot therefore but observe, that the question does not relate barely to degrees of perfection, but to the very essence and being of it. *Agitur de vita & sanguine Turni.* The point is, whether I shall, or shall not, work out my salvation, whether I shall serve Christ or Belial.

"12th. What still heightens my fear of this untried state is, that when I am once entered into it, be the inconveniencies of it found more or less—*vestigia nulla retrorsum*—when I am there, there must I stay. If this way of life should ever prove less advantageous, I have almost continual opportunities of quitting it; but whatever difficulties occur in that, whether foreseen or unforeseen, there is no returning, any more than from the grave. When I have once launched out into that unknown sea, there is no recovering my harbour; I must on among whatever whirlpools, or rocks, or sands, though all the waves and storms go over me.

"13th. Thus much as to myself. But you justly observe, that we are not to consider ourselves alone; since God made us all for a social life, to which academical studies are only preparatory. I allow too that he will take an exact account of every talent which he has lent us, not to bury them, but to employ every mite we have received, in diffusing holiness all around us. I cannot deny that every follower of Christ is, in his proportion, the light of the world, but whoever is such can no more be concealed than the sun in the midst of heaven; that being set as a light in a dark place, his shining out must be the more conspicuous; that to this very end was his light given, that it might shine at least to all that look towards him; and indeed that there is one only way of hiding it, which is, to put it out. Neither can I deny, that it is the indispensable

duty of every Christian to impart both light and heat to all who are willing to receive it. I am obliged likewise, unless I lie against the truth, to grant that there is not so contemptible an animal upon earth, as one that drones away life, without ever labouring to promote the glory of God, and the good of men; and that whether he be young or old, learned, or unlearned, in a college, or out of it. Yet granting the superlative degree of contempt to be on all accounts due to a college drone; a wretch that hath received ten talents, and yet employs none; that is not only promised a reward by his gracious master, but is paid beforehand for his work by his generous founder, and yet works not at all; allowing all this, and whatever else can be said (for I own it is impossible to say enough) against the drowsy ingratitude, the lazy perjury of those who are commonly called harmless or good sort of men, (a fair proportion of whom I must to our shame confess are to be found in colleges)—allowing this, I say, I do not apprehend it will conclude against a college life in general. For the abuse of it does not destroy the use; though there are some here who are the lumber of the creation, it does not follow that others may not be of more service to the world in this station, than they could in any other.

"14th. That I in particular could, might, it seems, be inferred from what has been proved already, viz. That I could be holier here myself than any where else, if I faithfully used the blessings I enjoy; for to prove, that the holier any man is himself, the more shall he promote holiness in others, there needs no more than this one *postulatum*, the help which is done on earth, God does it himself. If so, if God be the sole agent in healing souls, and man only the instrument in his hand, there can no doubt be made, but that the more holy a man is, he will make use of him the more. Because he is more willing to be so used; because the more pure he is, he is the fitter instrument for the God of purity; because he will pray more, and more earnestly that he may be employed, and that his service may tend to his master's glory; because all his prayers both for em-

ployment and success therein will the more surely pierce the clouds; because the more his heart is enlarged, the wider sphere he may act in without carefulness or distraction. And lastly, because, the more his heart is renewed in the image of God, the more God can renew it in others by him, without destroying him by pride or vanity.

"15th. But for the proof of every one of these weighty truths, experience is worth a thousand reasons. I see, I feel them every day. Sometimes I cannot do good to others, because I am unwilling to do it; shame or pain is in the way; and I do not desire to serve God at so dear a rate. Sometimes I cannot do the good I desire to do, because I am in other respects too unholy. I know within myself, were I fit to be so employed, God would employ me in this work. But my heart is too unclean for such mighty works to be wrought by my hands. Sometimes I cannot accomplish the good I am employed in, because I do not pray more, and more fervently; and sometimes even when I do pray, and that instantly, because I am not worthy that my prayer should be heard. Sometimes I dare not attempt to assist my neighbour, because I know the narrowness of my heart, that it cannot attend to many things, without utter confusion, and dissipation of thought. And a thousand times have I been mercifully with-held from success in things I have attempted; because were one so proud and vain enabled to gain others, he would lose his own soul.

"16th. From all this I conclude, that where I am most holy myself, there I could most promote holiness in others; and, consequently, that, I could more promote it here, than in any place under heaven. But I have likewise other reasons besides this to think so; and the first is, the plenteousness of the harvest. Here is indeed a large scene of various action. Here is room for charity in all its forms. There is scarce any way of doing good to our fellow-creatures, for which here is not daily occasion. I can now only touch upon the several heads. Here are poor families to be relieved; here are children to be educated;

here are work-houses wherein both young and old want, and gladly receive the word of exhortation; here are prisons to be visited, wherein alone is a complication of all human wants; and lastly, here are the schools of the prophets; here are tender minds to be formed and strengthened, and babes in Christ to be instructed, and perfected in all useful learning. Of these in particular we must observe, that he who gains only one, does thereby as much service to the world as he could do in a parish in his whole life, for his name is *legion;* in him are contained all those who shall be converted by him. He is not a single drop of the dew of heaven; but *a river to make glad the city of God.*

"17th. But Epworth is yet a larger sphere of action than this; there I should have the care of two thousand souls. Two thousand souls! I see not how any man living can take care of an hundred. At least I could not; I know too well *Quid valeant humeri.* Because the weight I have already upon me, is almost more than I am able to bear, ought I to increase it ten-fold?

——————imponere Pelio Ossam
Scilicet, atque Ossæ frondosum involvere Olympum.

Would this be the way to help either myself or my brethren up to heaven? Nay, but the mountains I reared would only crush my own soul, and so make me utterly useless to others.

"18th. I need not but just glance upon several other reasons, why I am more likely to be useful here than any where else. As, because I have the joint advice of many friends in any difficulty, and their joint encouragement in any dangers. Because the good bishop and vice-chancellor, are at hand to supply (as need is) their want of experience; because we have the eyes of multitudes upon us, who, even without designing it, perform the most substantial office of friendship, apprising us where we have already fallen, and guarding us from falling again: lastly, because we have here a constant fund (which I believe will this year amount to near eighty pounds) to supply the bodily wants of the poor, and thereby prepare their souls to receive instruction.

"19th. If it be said that the love of the people at Epworth balances all these advantages here; I ask how long it will last? Only till I come to tell them plainly that their deeds are evil, and to make a particular application of that general sentence, to say to each, *Thou art the man!* Alas, Sir, do I not know, what love they had for you at first? and how have they used you since? Why, just as every one will be used, whose business it is to bring light to them that love to sit in darkness.

"20th. Notwithstanding, therefore, their present prejudice in my favour, I cannot quit my first conclusion, that I am not likely to do that good any where, not even at Epworth, which I may do at Oxford; and yet one terrible objection lies in the way; Have you found it so in fact?—What have you done there in so many years? Nay, have not the very attempts to do good, for want either of a particular turn of mind for the business you engaged in, or of prudence to direct you in the right method of doing it, not only been unsuccessful, but brought such contempt upon you, as has in a great measure disqualified you for any future success! And are there not men in Oxford who are not only better and holier than you, but who have preserved their reputation, who being universally esteemed, are every way fitter to promote the glory of God in that place?

"21st. I am not careful to answer in this matter. It is not my part to say whether God has done any good by my hands; whether I have a particular turn of mind for this or not; or whether the want of success in my past attempts, was owing to want of prudence, to ignorance of the method of acting, or to some other cause. But the latter part of the objection, that he who is despised can do no good, that without reputation a man cannot be useful in the world, being the strong-hold of all the unbelieving, the vain-glorious, and the cowardly Christians (so called) I will, by the grace of God, see what reason that has, thus continually to exalt itself against the knowledge of Christ.

"22d. With regard to contempt then (under which term I include all the passions that border upon it, as hatred,

envy, &c. and all the fruits that flow from them, such as calumny, reproach, and persecution in any of its forms) my first position, in defiance of worldly wisdom, is this, 'Every true Christian is contemned wherever he lives, by all who are not so, and who knows him to be such, *i. e.* in effect, by all with whom he converses; since it is impossible for light not to shine.' This position I prove both from the example of our Lord, and from his express assertions. First from his example, if the disciple is not above his Master, nor the servant above his Lord, then, as our Master was despised and rejected of men, so will every one of his true disciples be. But the disciple is not above his Master, therefore the consequence will not fail him a hair's-breadth. Secondly, from his own express assertions of this consequence. *If they have called the master of the house* Beelzebub, *how much more them of his household?* Matt. x. 25. *Remember* (ye that would fain forget or evade it) *the word that I said unto you, the servant is not greater than his Lord. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you.* And as for that vain hope, that this belongs only to the first followers of Christ, hear ye him, *All these things will they do to you, because they know not him that sent me.* And *again, because ye are not of the world, therefore the world hateth you,* John xvi. 20. Both the persons who are hated and the persons who hate them, and the cause of their hating them, are here clearly determined. The hated are all that are not of this world, that are born again in the knowledge and love of God; the haters are all that are of this world, that know not God, so as to love him with all their strength; the cause of their hatred is, the entire irreconcilable differences between their desires, judgments, and affections; because these know not God, and those are determined to know and pursue nothing besides him; because these esteem and love the world, and those count it dung and dross, and singly desire that love of Christ.

"23d. My next position is this, 'Until he be thus contemned, no man is in a state of salvation.' And this is no more than a plain inference from the former; for if all that

are not of the world are therefore contemned by those that are, then till a man is contemned, he is of the world, *i. e.* out of a state of salvation. Nor is it possible for all the trimmers between God and the world, for all the dodgers in religion, to elude this consequence, which God has established, and not man, unless they could prove that a man may be of the world, *i. e.* void both of the knowledge and love of God, and yet be in a state of salvation. I must, therefore, with or without leave of these, keep close to my Saviour's judgment, and maintain that contempt is a part of that cross which every man must bear if he will follow him; that it is the badge of his discipleship, the stamp of his profession, the constant seal of his calling; insomuch that, though a man may be despised without being saved, yet he cannot be saved without being despised.

"24th. I should not spend any more words about this great truth, but that it seems at present quite voted out of the world; the masters in Israel, learned men, men of renown, seem absolutely to have forgotten it; nay, censure those who have not forgotten the words of their Lord, as setters forth of strange doctrines. And hence it is commonly asked, *How can these things be?* How can contempt be necessary to salvation? I answer as it is a necessary means of purifying souls for heaven, as it is a blessed instrument of cleansing them from pride, which else would turn their very graces into poison; as it is a glorious antidote against vanity, which would otherwise pollute and destroy all their labours; as it is an excellent medicine to heal the anger and impatience of spirit, apt to insinuate into their best employments; and, in a word, as it is one of the choicest remedies in the whole magazine of God against the love of the world, in which whosoever liveth is counted dead before him.

"25th. And hence (as a full answer to the preceding objection) I infer one position more: That our being contemned is absolutely necessary to our doing good in the world. If not our doing some good (for God may work by Judas) yet to our doing so much as we otherwise should not do. For since God will employ those instruments most,

who are fittest to be employed; since the holier a man is, the fitter instrument he is for the God of holiness; and since contempt is so glorious a means of advancing holiness in him that is exercised thereby; nay, since no man can be holy at all without it, who can keep off the consequence? The being contemned is absolutely necessary to a Christtan's doing his full measure of good in the world. Where then is the scribe? Where is the wise? Where is the disputer of this world? Where is the replier against God, with his sage maxims? "He that is despised can do no good in the world; to be useful a man must be esteemed; to advance the glory of God, you must have a fair reputation." Saith the world so? But what saith the Scripture? Why, that God hath laughed all this Heathen wisdom to scorn? It saith, that twelve despised followers of a despised Master, all of whom were of no reputation, who were esteemed as the filth and off-scouring of the world, did more good in it than all the tribes of Israel. It saith, that the despised Master of these despised followers left a standing direction to us, and to our children,—*Blessed are ye* (not accursed with the heavy curse of doing no good, of being useless in the world) *when men shall revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil of you falsely for my name's sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven.*

"26th. These are part of my reasons for choosing to abide (till I am better informed) in the station wherein God has placed me. As for the flock committed to your care, whom for many years you have diligently fed with the sincere milk of the word, I trust in God your labour shall not be in vain, either to yourself or them; many of them the Great Sheepherd has by your hand delivered from the hand of the destroyer, some of whom are already entered into peace, and some remain unto this day. For yourself, I doubt not, but when your warfare is accomplished, when you are made perfect through sufferings, you shall come to your grave, not with sorrow, but as a ripe shock of corn,

full of years and victories, and he that took care of the poor sheep before you were born, will not forget them when you are dead."

Mr. Samuel Wesley wrote to his brother John at Oxford, February 8th, 1735, and made some observations on the letter he had written to his father. He tells him, "Charles was in the right, to desire I might have your whole letter. Though you have stated the point, so as to take away the question, at least all possibility of differing about it, if it be only this, whether you are to serve Christ or Belial? I see no end of writing now, but merely complying with your desire of having my thoughts upon it; which I here give in short, and I think almost in full, though I pass over strictures on less matters.

"1. Your friends, retirement, frequent ordinances, and freedom from care, are great blessings; all, except the last, you may expect, in a lower degree, elsewhere. Sure all your labours are not come to this that more is absolutely necessary for you, for the very being of your Christian life, than for the salvation of all the parish priests in England. It is very strange!

"2. To the question, 'What good have you done at Oxford?' You are not careful to answer: how comes it then you are so very careful about the good you might do at Epworth? *The help that is done on earth, he doth it himself,* is a full solution of that terrible difficulty.

"3. The impossibility of return, the certainty of being disliked by them that now cry you up, and the small comparative good my father has done, are good prudential reasons; but I think can hardly extend to conscience. You can leave Oxford when you will. Not surely to such advantage. 'You have a probability of doing good there.' Will that good be wholly undone if you leave it? Why should you not leaven another lump?

"4. What you say of contempt is nothing to the purpose; for if you will go to Epworth, I will answer for it, you shall, in a competent time, be despised as much as your heart can wish. In your doctrine, you argue from a par-

ticular to a general. 'To be useful, a man must be esteemed,' is as certain as any proposition in Euclid, and I defy all mankind to produce one instance, of directly doing spiritual good without it, in the whole book of God—5. 'God, who provided for the flock before, will do it after my father.' May he not suffer them to be what they once were, almost heathens? And may not that be prevented by your ministry? It could never enter into my head that you could refuse on any other ground, than a general resolution against the cure of souls. I shall give no positive reason for it, till my first is answered. The order of the Church stakes you down, and the more you struggle will hold the faster. If there be such a thing as truth, I insist upon it you must, when opportunity offers, either perform that promise, or repent of it: *Utrum mavis?* Which do you prefer?"

To this letter Mr. John Wesley replied on the 13th of the same month. "Neither you nor I, says he, have any time to spare; so I must be as short as I can.

"There are two questions between us, one relating to being good, the other to doing good. With regard to the former: 1. You allow I enjoy more of friends, retirement, freedom from care, and Divine ordinances, than I could do elsewhere; and I add, 1. I feel all this to be but just enough. 2. I have always found, less than this to be too little for me; and therefore, 3. Whatever others do, I could not throw up any part of it, without manifest hazard to my salvation.

"2. As to the latter, I am not careful to answer, 'What good I have done at Oxford;' because I cannot think of it without the utmost danger. I am careful what good I may do at Epworth, 1. Because I can think of it without any danger at all; 2. Because I cannot, as matters now stand, avoid thinking of it without sin.

"3. Another can supply my place at Epworth, better than at Oxford; and the good done here, is of a far more diffusive nature. It is a more extensive benefit to sweeten the fountain, than to do the same to particular streams.

"4. To the objection: You are despised at Oxford,

therefore you can do no good there; I answer, 1. A Christian will be despised any where. 2. No one is a Christian till he is despised. 3. His being despised will not hinder his doing good, but much further it, by making him a better Christian. Without contradicting any of these propositions, I allow, that every one to whom you do good directly, must esteem you first or last.—N. B. A man may despise you for one thing, hate you for another, and envy you for a third.

"5. God may suffer Epworth to be worse than before. But *I may not* attempt to prevent it, with so great hazard to my own soul.—Your last argument is either *ignoratio elenchi*, or implies these two propositions: '1. You resolve against any parochial cure of souls. 2. The priest who does not undertake the first parochial cure that offers, is perjured.' Let us add a third: 'The Tutor who being in Orders never accepts of a parish, is perjured;' and then I deny all three."

This letter Mr. Samuel Wesley answered, paragraph by paragraph. "1. You say you have but just enough. Had ever any man on earth more? 'You have experienced less to be insufficient.' Not in the course of the priesthood to which you are called. In that way, I am persuaded, though he that gathereth much can have nothing over, yet he that gathereth little can have no lack. 2. 'There is danger in thinking of the good you have done, but not of what you may do.' Vain glory lies both ways; 'But the latter was your duty.' So was the former; without you can compare two things without thinking of one of them. 3. 'The good done at Oxford is more diffusive.' It is not *that good* you have promised. You deceive yourself, if you imagine you do not here think of *what you have done*. 'Your want may be better supplied at Epworth;' not if my father is right in his successions. 4. 'A Christian will be despised every where; no one is a Christian till he is so; it will further his doing good.' If universal propositions, I deny them all. Esteem goes before the good done, as well as follows it. 'A man may both despise and envy.' True; He may have a hot and cold fit of an ague. Contempt in

general, is no more incompatible with, than necessary to, benefiting others. 5. See the first and third. 6. I said plainly, I thought you had made a general resolution: as to taking the first offer, I supposed the opportunity a proper one; and declare now my judgment, should you live ever so long, in the ordinary course of providence, you can never meet another so proper. 'An ordained Tutor, who accepts not a cure, is perjured; alter the term into, 'Who resolves not to accept;' and I will maintain it, unless you prove either of these two: '1. There is no such obligation at taking orders. 2. This obligation is dispensed with.' Both which, I utterly deny."

Mr. John Wesley now closed the debate, in a manner which does credit both to his head and heart. His letter is dated the 4th of March. He observes to his brother, "I had rather dispute with you, if I must dispute, than with any man living; because it may be done with so little expence of time and words. The question is now brought to one point, and the whole of the argument will lie in one single syllogism.

"'Neither hope of doing greater good, nor fear of any evil, ought to deter you from what you have engaged yourself to do: but you have engaged yourself to undertake the cure of a parish: therefore, neither that hope nor that fear ought to deter you from it. The only doubt which remains is, whether I have engaged myself or not? You think I did at my ordination; 'Before God and his High Priest.' I think I did not. However, I own I am not the proper judge of the oath I then took: it being certain, and allowed by all, *Verbis, in quæ quis jurejurando adigitur, sensum genuinum, ut et obligationi Sacramenti modum ac mensuram, præstitui a mente, non præstantis sed exigentis juramentum.*'——*That the true sense of the words of an oath, and the mode and extent of its obligation, are not to be determined by him who takes it, but by him who requires it.* 'Therefore it is not I, but the High Priest of God, before whom I contracted that engagement, who is to judge of the nature and extent of it.

"Accordingly, the post after I received your's, I referred it entirely to him; proposing this single question to him, Whether I had, at my ordination, engaged myself to undertake the cure of a parish or no? His answer runs in these words: 'It doth not seem to me, that at your ordination you engaged yourself to undertake the cure of any parish, provided you can, as a Clergyman, better serve God and his Church in your present or some other station.'—Now that I can, as a Clergyman, better serve God and his Church, in my present station, I have all reasonable evidence."

The assertions, that "every true Christian is contemned wherever he lives, by all who are not so,"—that "until he be thus contemned, no man is in a state of salvation." &c. will appear, no doubt, the most singular of any in these letters. The expressions certainly are too strong, and the language on the whole too abrupt, to convey his full meaning. Perhaps Mr. Wesley's opinion on this subject, a little more unfolded, may be reduced to the following propositions.

1. That a true Christian, in the temper of his mind, the motives of his actions, and the whole tenor of his behaviour, is not conformed to worldly-minded men, and will therefore be despised, and sometimes persecuted by them.

2. Until a man be thus transformed by the renewing of his mind, and stand opposed to the principles and practices of those who are of the world, and not of God, he is not a Christian.

3. That a Christian's being contemned and persecuted by those who are not Christians, will tend to make him more careful and diligent in all the means of improvement in the Christian life, and further his progress to a true conformity to Christ.

4. That a Christian's being contemned, will not hinder but greatly increase his usefulness, particularly in times of persecution, when patience, humility, love, and the other virtues of his mind, will be in the highest degree of exercise, and appear to the greatest advantage, in contrast with

the opposite dispositions of the persecutors. By these means, Christians, in all ages of the Church, have conquered those who hated them most, and been the instruments of their conversion.

In the midst of the debate Mr. Wesley wrote to his mother, without taking the least notice of it: nor do we find that she wrote to him on that subject; which appears extraordinary, if she was of the same opinion with her husband and her son Samuel. Mr. Wesley's letter is on the subject of Christian liberty, concerning which, he wished to have his mother's opinion. He says, "I have had a great deal of conversation lately on the subject of Christian liberty, and should be glad of your thoughts, as to the several notions of it which good men entertain. I perceive different persons take it, in at least six different senses. 1. For liberty from wilful sin, in opposition to the bondage of natural corruption. 2. For liberty as to rites and points of discipline. So Mr. Whiston says, 'Though the *stations* were instituted by the Apostles, yet the liberty of the Christian law dispenses with them on extraordinary occasions.' 3. For liberty from denying ourselves in little things; for trifles, it is commonly thought, we may indulge in safely, because Christ has made us free. This notion, I a little doubt, is not sound. 4. For liberty from fear, or a filial freedom from fear on account of his past sins; for he believes in Christ, and hope frees him from fear of losing his present labour, or of being a cast-away hereafter. 5. Christian liberty is taken by some, for a freedom from restraint, as to sleep or food. So they would say, your drinking but one glass of wine, or my rising at a fixed hour, was contrary to Christian liberty. Lastly, it is taken for freedom from rules: if by this be meant, making our rules yield to extraordinary occasions, well; if the having no rules at all, this liberty is as yet too high for me; I cannot attain unto it."

Mr. Wesley's father died in April, and the Living of Epworth was given away in May; so that he now considered himself as settled at Oxford, without any risk of being further molested in his quiet retreat. But a new scene of action was soon proposed to him, of which he had not be-

fore the least conception. The Trustees of the new colony of Georgia were greatly in want of proper persons to send thither, to preach the Gospel, not to the colony, but to the Indians. They fixed their eyes on Mr. John Wesley, and some of his friends, as the most proper persons, on account of the regularity of their behaviour, their abstemious way of living, and their readiness to endure hardships. On the 28th of August, being in London, he met with his friend Dr. Burton, for whom he had a great esteem; and the next day was introduced to Mr. Oglethorpe, where the matter was proposed to him, and strongly urged upon him by such arguments as they thought most likely to dispose his mind to accept of the proposal. It does not appear that Mr. Wesley gave them any positive answer. He thought it best to take the opinion of his friends. Accordingly he wrote to his brother Samuel, visited Mr. Law, and in three or four days, set out for Manchester, to consult Mr. Clayton, Mr. Byrom, and several others whose judgments he respected. From thence he went to Epworth, and laid the matter before his mother, and eldest sister, who consented to his acceptance of the proposal. His brother Samuel did the same. Mr. Wesley still hesitated, and on the 8th of September, Dr. Burton wrote to him, pressing him to a compliance. His letter is directed to Manchester, and franked by Mr. Oglethorpe.

7ber 8th, 1735.
C. C. C. Oxon.

"DEAR SIR,

"I HAD it in commission to wait upon you at Oxford, whither by this time I imagined you might be arrived. Your short conference with Mr. Oglethorpe, has raised the hopes of many good persons, that you and yours would join in an undertaking, which cannot be better executed than by such instruments. I have thought again of the matter, and upon the result of the whole, cannot help again recommending the undertaking to your choice: and the more so, since in our inquiries, there appears such an unfitness in the generality of people. That state of ease, luxury, levity, and inadvertancy, observable in most of the plausible and

popular Doctors, are disqualifications in a Christian teacher, and would lead us to look for a different set of people. The more men are inured to contempt of ornaments and conveniences of life, to serious thoughts and bodily austerities, the fitter they are for a state which more properly represents our Christian pilgrimage. And if upon consideration of the matter, you think yourselves (as you must do, at least amidst such a scarcity of proper persons) the fit instruments for so good a work, you will be ready to embrace this opportunity of doing good; which is not in vain offered to you.—Be pleased to write a line signifying your thoughts to me, or Mr. Oglethorpe; and if by advice I can be assisting to you, you may command my best, best services.

"Your's affectionately,

"JOHN BURTON.

"P. S. Mr. Horn telling me, he heard you were at Manchester, I presume you are with Mr. Clayton, deliberating about this affair."

Mr. Wesley now consented to go to Georgia. He had said to his brother Samuel, that his objections to Epworth were founded on his own weakness. He thought he should have so many temptations to what he then deemed irregularity in eating and drinking, at the visits he should be obliged to make, that he could not stand against them; besides the difficulty he would have of spending his time to the most advantage. But, in going to Georgia, he saw a prospect of great usefulness, without any of these dangers to himself: nay, we have no doubt, but the very difficulty of the undertaking, and the prospect of the hardships he must undergo, had some influence in disposing him to accept of it. Dr. Burton wrote to him again on the 18th of the same month, as follows: "It was with no small pleasure, that I heard of your resolution on the point under consideration. I am persuaded, that an opportunity is offered of doing much good in an affair, for the conducting of which we can find but few proper instruments. Your undertaking adds greater credit to our proceedings; and the propagation of religion, will be the distinguishing honour of our colony.

This has ever, in like cases, been the *desideratum:* a defect seemingly lamented, but scarce ever remedied. With greater satisfaction therefore, we enjoy your readiness to undertake the work. When it is known, that good men are thus employed, the pious and charitable will be the more encouraged to promote the work. You have too much steadiness of mind, to be disturbed by the light scoffs of the idle and profane. Let me put a matter to be considered by your brother Charles: Would it not be more adviseable that he were in orders?"

On the 28th of the same month, a few days before Mr. Oglethorpe intended to sail, Dr. Burton wrote again to Mr. Wesley, giving him advice on several points respecting his future situation. Amongst other things he observes,— "Under the influence of Mr. Oglethorpe, giving weight to your endeavours, much may be effected under the present circumstances. The apostolical manner of preaching, from house to house, will, through God's grace, be effectual to turn many to righteousness. The people are babes in the progress of their Christian life, to be fed with milk instead of strong meat; and the wise householder will bring out of his stores, food proportioned to the necessities of his family. The circumstances of your present Christian pilgrimage will furnish the most affecting subjects of discourse; and what arises *pro re nata*, will have greater influence than a laboured discourse on a subject, in which men think themselves not so immediately concerned. With regard to your behaviour and manner of address, that must be determined according to the different circumstances of persons, &c. But you will always, in the use of means, consider the great end, and therefore your applications will of course vary. You will keep in view the pattern of that gospel preacher St. Paul, who became all things to all men, that he might gain some. Here is a nice trial of Christian prudence: accordingly, in every case you would distinguish between what is essential, and what is merely circumstantial to Christianity; between what is indispensable, and what is variable; between what is of divine, and what is of

human authority. I mention this, because men are apt to deceive themselves in such cases, and we see the traditions and ordinances of men frequently insisted on, with more rigour than the commands of God, to which they are subordinate. Singularities of less importance, are often espoused with more zeal than the weighty matters of God's law. As in all points we love ourselves, so especially in our hypotheses. Where a man has, as it were, a property in a notion, he is most industrious to improve it, and that in proportion to the labour of thought he has bestowed upon it; and as its value rises in imagination, we are in proportion more unwilling to give it up, and dwell upon it more pertinaciously, than upon considerations of general necessity and use. This is a flattering mistake, against which we should guard ourselves. I hope to see you at Gravesend if possible. I write in haste what occurs to my thoughts—*disce docendus adhuc, quæ censet amiculus.* May God prosper your endeavours for the propagation of his gospel?"

We shall now leave Mr. Wesley, preparing for his voyage to America. While he was abroad, Mr. Gambold, who had been intimately acquainted with him at Oxford, wrote some account of his proceedings there, and endeavoured to delineate his character. He sent this to one of Mr. Wesley's relations; and we shall close this chapter with the following short abstract from it.

"About the middle of March 1730, I became acquainted with Mr. Charles Wesley of Christ-church. I had been for two year before in deep melancholy; so it pleased God to disappoint and break a proud spirit, and to embitter the world to me as I was inclining to relish its vanities. During this time I had no friend to whom I could open my mind; no man did care for my soul, or none at least understood her paths. The learned endeavoured to give me right notions, and the friendly to divert me. One day an old acquaintance entertained me with some reflections on the whimsical Mr. Charles Wesley; his preciseness, and pious extravagancies. Upon hearing this, I suspected he might be a good Christian. I therefore went to his room, and without

ceremony desired the benefit of his conversation. I had as large a share of it afterwards, that hardly a day passed while I was at College, but we were together once, if not oftener.

"After some time, he introduced me to his brother John of Lincoln-college: 'For he is somewhat older,' said he, 'than I am, and can resolve your doubts better.' I never observed any person have a more real deference for another than he had for his brother; which is the more remarkable, because such near relations, being equals by birth, and conscious to each other of all the little familiar passages of their lives, commonly stand too close, to see the ground there may be for such submission. Indeed he followed his brother entirely: could I describe one of them I should describe both. I shall therefore say no more of Charles, but that he was a man formed for friendship; who by his cheerfulness and vivacity would refresh his friend's heart; with attentive consideration, would enter into, and settle all his concerns as far as he was able: he would do any thing for him, great or small, and, by a habit of mutual openness and freedom would leave no room for misunderstanding.

"The Wesleys were already talked of for some religious practices, which were first occasioned by Mr. Morgan, of Christ-church. He was a young man of an excellent disposition. He took all opportunities to make his companions in love with a good life; to create in them a reverence for public worship; to tell them of their faults with a sweetness and simplicity that disarmed the worst tempers. He delighted much in works of charity; he kept several children at school; and, when he found beggars in the street, would bring them into his chambers and talk to them. From these combined friends began a little society. Mr. John Wesley was the chief manager, for which he was very fit: for he had not only more learning and experience than the rest, but he was blest with such activity as to be always gaining ground, and such steadiness that he lost none. What proposals he made to any, were sure to alarm them; because he was so much in earnest; nor could they afterwards slight

them, because they saw him always the same. What supported this uniform vigour was, the care he took to consider well every afair before he engaged in it; making all his decisions in the fear of God, without passion, humour, or self-confidence. For though he had naturally a very clear apprehension, yet his exact prudence depended more on his humility and singleness of heart. He had, I think, something of authority in his countenance, yet he never assumed any thing to himself above his companions; any of them might speak their mind, and their words were as strictly regarded by him, as his words were by them.

"Their undertaking included these several particulars: to converse with young students; to visit the prisons; to instruct some poor families; to take care of a school and parish workhouse. They took great pains with the younger members of the University, to rescue them from bad company, and encourage them in a sober studious life. They would get them to breakfast, and over a dish of tea endeavour to fasten some good hint upon them. They would bring them acquainted with other well disposed young men, give them assistance in the difficult parts of their learning, and watch over them with the greatest tenderness.

"Some or other of them went to the Castle every day, and another most commonly to Bocardo. Whoever went to the Castle was to read in the chapel to as many prisoners as would attend, and to talk apart to the man or men whom he had taken particularly in charge. When a new prisoner came, their conversation with him for four or five times was close and searching. If any one was under sentence of death, or appeared to have some intentions of a new life, they came every day to his assistance, and partook in the conflict and suspense of those who should now be found able, or not able to lay hold on Salvation. In order to release those who were confined for small debts, and to purchase books and other necessaries, they raised a little fund, to which many of their acquaintance contributed quarterly. They had prayers at the Castle most Wenesdays and Fridays, a sermon on Sunday, and the Sacrament once a month.

"When they undertook the care of any poor family, they saw them, at least, once a week; sometimes gave them money, admonished them of their vices, read to them, and examined their children. The school was, I think, of Mr. Wesley's own setting up: however, he paid the mistress, and clothed some, if not all the children. When they went thither, they inquired how each child behaved, saw their work, heard them read and say their prayers, or catechism, and explained part of it. In the same manner they taught the children in the workhouse, and read to the old people as they did to the prisoners.

"They seldom took any notice of the accusations brought against them for their charitable employments; but if they made any reply, it was commonly such a plain and simple one, as if there was nothing more in the case but that they had just heard such doctrines of their Saviour, and had believed and done accordingly. *Sometimes they would ask such questions as the following:* Shall we be more happy in another life, the more virtuous we are in this? Are we the more virtuous the more intensely we love God and man? Is love, of all habits, the more intense, the more we exercise it? Is either helping or trying to help man for God's sake, an exercise of love to God or man? particularly, is feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, or prisoners, an exercise of love to God or man? Is endeavouring to teach the ignorant, to admonish sinners, to encourage the good, to comfort the afflicted, and reconcile enemies, an exercise of love to God or man? Shall we be more happy in another life, if we do the former of these things, and try to do the latter; or if we do not the one nor try to do the other?

"I could say a great deal of his private piety; how it was nourished by a continual recourse to God; and preserved by a strict watchfulness in beating down pride, and reducing the craftiness and impetuosity of nature, to a child-like simplicity; and, in a good degree, crowned with divine love, and victory over the whole set of earthly passions. He thought prayer to be more his business than any

thing else; and I have seen him come out of his closet with a serenity of countenance that was next to shining; it discovered what he had been doing, and gave me double hope of receiving wise directions, in the matter about which I came to consult him. In all his motions he attended to the will of God. He had neither the presumption, nor the leisure to anticipate things whose season it was not now; and would shew some uneasiness whenever any of us, by impertinent speculations, were shifting off the appointed improvement of the present minute. By being always cheerful, but never triumphing, he so husbanded the secret consolations which God gave him, that they seldom left him, and never but in a state of strong and long-suffering faith. Thus the repose and satisfaction of the mind being otherwise secured, there were in him no idle cravings, no chagrin or fickleness of spirit, nothing but the genuine wants of the body to be relieved by outward accommodations and refreshments. When he was just come home from a long journey, and had been in different companies, he resumed his usual employments, as if he had never left them; no dissipation of thought appeared, no alteration of taste: much less was he discomposed by any slanders or affronts; he was only afraid lest he should grow proud of this conformity to his Master. In short, he used many endeavours to be religious, but none to seem so; with a zeal always upon the stretch, and a most transparent sincerity, he addicted himself to every good word and work.

"Because he required such a regulation of our studies, as might devote them all to God, he has been accused as one that discouraged learning. Far from that; for the first thing he struck at in young men, was, that indolence which will not submit to close thinking. He earnestly recommended to them, a method and order in all their actions. The morning hour of devotion was from five to six, and the same in the evening. On the point of early rising, he told them the well spending of the day would depend. For some years past, he and his friends have read the New Testament together in the evenings; and after every portion of

it, having heard the conjectures the rest had to offer, he made his own observations on the phrase, design, and difficult places; and one or two wrote these down from his mouth.

"If any one could have provoked him, I should; for I was very slow in coming into their measures, and very remiss in doing my part. I frequently contradicted his assertions; or, which is much the same, distinguished upon them. I hardly ever submitted to his advice at the time he gave it, though I relented afterwards. One time he was in fear I had taken up notions that were not safe, and pursued my spiritual improvement in an erroneous, because inactive way; so he came over and staid with me near a week. He condoled with me the incumbrances of my constitution, heard all I had to say, and endeavoured to pick out my meaning, and yielded to me as far as he could. I never saw more humility in him than at this time.

"Mr. Wesley had not only friends at Oxford to assist him, but a great many correspondents. He set apart one day at least in the week, to write letters, and he was no slow composer; in which, without levity or affectation, but with plainness and fervour, he gave his advice in particular cases, and vindicated the strict original sense of the Gospel precepts.

"He is now gone to Georgia as a Missionary, where there is ignorance that aspires after divine wisdom, but no false learning that is got above it. He is, I confess, still living; and I know that an advantageous character is more decently bestowed on the deceased. But besides that, his condition is very like that of the dead, being unconcerned in all we say, I am not making any attempt on the opinion of the public, but only studying a private edification. A family picture of him, his relations may be allowed to keep by them. And this is the idea of Mr. Wesley, which I cherish for the service of my own soul, and I take the liberty likewise to deposit with you."

HAVING now, according to our Engagement, laid before the Public such an Account of Mr. WESLEY's Family, of his Education, and Manner of Life from his Youth, as appeared to us to be a proper and necessary Introduction to his Journal, in which he is his own Biographer; and having, in the Progress of that Account, arrived at the period when that Journal commences, we shall here conclude this Introductory part of our Compilation, and no longer detain our Readers from the perusal of that entertaining and instructive Narrative. They will recollect that an Account of his Death is intended to follow the Journal.

AN

EXTRACT

OF THE

REV. JOHN WESLEY'S

JOURNAL.

SHALL WE SAY THEN? THAT ISRAEL WHICH FOLLOWED AFTER THE LAW OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, HATH NOT ATTAINED TO THE LAW OF RIGHTEOUSNESS. WHEREFORE? BECAUSE THEY SOUGHT IT NOT BY FAITH, BUT AS IT WERE BY THE WORKS OF THE LAW. ROMANS IX. 30, 31.

EXTRACT

OF THE

REV. JOHN WESLEY'S

PREFACE TO HIS JOURNAL.

IT was in pursuance of an advice given by Bishop Taylor, in his RULES FOR HOLY LIVING AND DYING, *that about fifteen years ago, I began to take a more exact account than I had done before, of the manner wherein I spent my time, writing down how I had employed every hour. This I continued to do, wherever I was, till the time of my leaving England. The variety of scenes which I then passed through, induced me to transcribe, from time to time, the more material parts of my Diary, adding here and there such little reflections as occurred to my mind. Of this Journal, thus occasionally compiled, the following is a short extract: it not being my design to relate all those particulars, which I wrote for my own use only; and which would answer no valuable end to others, however important they were to me.*

J. W.

JOURNAL I.

FROM HIS EMBARKING FOR GEORGIA, OCTOBER 14, 1735, TO HIS RETURN TO LONDON, FEB. 1, 1738.

TUESDAY, Oct. 14, 1735, Mr. Benjamin Ingham, of Queen's College, Oxford, Mr. Charles Delamotte, son of a merchant in London, who had offered himself some days before, my brother Charles Wesley and myself took boat for Gravesend, in order to embark for Georgia. Our end in leaving our native country was not to avoid want (God having given us plenty of temporal blessings) nor to gain the dung or dross of riches or honour; but singly this: to save our souls, to live wholly to the glory of God. In the afternoon we found the Simonds off Gravesend, and immediately went on board.

Wednesday and Thursday we spent with one or two of our friends, partly on board and partly on shore, in exhorting one another to *shake off every weight, and to run with patience the race set before us.*

Friday 17, I began to learn German, in order to converse with the Moravians, six and twenty of whom we had on board. On Sunday, the weather being fair and calm, we had the morning-service on quarter deck. I now first preached extempore, and then administered the Lord's Supper to six or seven communicants. A little flock. May God increase it!

Monday 20, Believing the denying ourselves even in the smallest instances, might, by the blessing of God be helpful to us, we wholly left off the use of flesh and wine, and confined ourselves to vegetable food, chiefly rice and bisket. In the afternoon David Nitchman, bishop of the Moravians,

and two others began to learn English. O may we be, not only of one tongue, but of one mind and of one heart!

Tuesday 21, We sailed from Gravesend. When we were past about half the Goodwin Sands, the wind suddenly failed. Had the calm continued till ebb, the ship had probably been lost; but the gale sprung up in an hour, and carried us into the Downs.

We now began to be a little regular. Our common way of living was this: From four in the morning till five, each of us used private prayer; from five to seven we read the Bible together, carefully comparing it (that we might not lean to our own understanding) with the writings of the earliest ages. At seven we breakfasted. At eight were the public prayers. From nine to twelve I usually learned German, and Mr. Delamotte, Greek. My brother wrote sermons, and Mr. Ingham instructed the children. At twelve we met to give an account to one another what we had done since our last meeting, and what we designed to do before our next. About one we dined. The time from dinner to four, we spent in reading to those whom each of us had taken in charge, or in speaking to them seriously, as need required. At four were the evening prayers; when either the second lesson was explained (as it always was in the morning) or the children were catechised and instructed before the congregation. From five to six we again used private prayer. From six to seven I read in our cabin to two or three of the passengers (of whom there were about eighty English on board) and each of my brethren to a few more in theirs. At seven I joined with the Germans in their public service; while Mr. Ingham was reading between the decks to as many as desired to hear. At eight we met again to exhort and instruct one another. Between nine and ten we went to bed, where neither the roaring of the sea, nor the motion of the ship, could take away the refreshing sleep which God gave us.

Friday 24, Having a rolling sea, most of the passengers found the effects of it. Mr. Delamotte was exceeding sick for several days: Mr. Ingham for about half an hour. My

brother's head ached much. Hitherto it has pleased God, the sea has not disordered me at all; nor have I been hindered one quarter of an hour from reading, writing, composing, or doing any business I could have done on shore.

During our stay in the Downs, some or other of us went as often as we had opportunity on board the ship that sailed in company with us, where also many were glad to join in prayer and hearing the word.

Friday 31, We sailed out of the Downs. At eleven at night I was waked by a great noise. I soon found there was no danger; but the bare apprehension of it gave me a lively conviction what manner of men those ought to be who are every moment on the brink of eternity.

Saturday, Nov. 1, We came to St. Helen's harbour, and the next day into Cowe's Road. The wind was fair, but we waited for the man of war which was to sail with us. This was a happy opportunity of instructing our fellow-travellers. May he whose seed we sow, give it the increase!

Sunday 16, Thomas Hird, and Grace his wife, with their children, Mark, aged 21, and Phebe, about 17, late Quakers, were, at their often repeated desire, and after careful instruction, admitted to baptism.

Thursday 20, We fell down into Yarmouth Roads; but the next day were forced back to Cowes. During our stay here there were several storms; in one of which two ships in Yarmouth Roads were lost.

The contrary winds gave my brother an opportunity of complying with the desire of the Minister of Cowes, and preaching there three or four times. The poor people flocked together in great numbers. We distributed a few little books among the more serious of them, which they received with all possible expressions of thankfulness.

Friday 21, One recovering from a dangerous illness, desired to be instructed in the nature of the Lord's supper. I thought it concerned her to be first instructed in the nature of Christianity; and accordingly fixt an hour a day to read with her in Mr. Law's Treatise on Christian Perfection.

Sunday 23, At night I was waked by the tossing of the ship and roaring of the wind, and plainly shewed, I was unfit, for I was unwilling to die.

Tuesday, Dec 2, I had much satisfaction in conversing with one that was very ill and very serious. But in a few days she recovered from her sickness and from her seriousness together.

Sunday 7, Finding nature did not require so frequent supplies as we had been accustomed to, we agreed to leave off suppers; from doing which we have hitherto found no inconvenience.

Wednesday 10, We sailed from Cowes, and in the afternoon past the Needles. Here the ragged rocks, with the waves dashing and foaming at the foot of them, and the white side of the island rising to such a height, perpendicular from the beech, gave a strong idea of *Him that spanneth the heavens, and holdeth the waters in the hollow of his hand!*

To day I spoke closely on the head of religion, to one I had talked with once or twice before. Afterwards she said, with many tears, "My mother died when I was but ten years old. Some of her last words were, 'Child, fear God, and though you lose me you shall never want a friend.' I have now found a friend when I most wanted, and least expected one."

From this day to the 14th, being in the Bay of Biscay, the sea was very rough. Mr. Delamotte and many others were more sick than ever: Mr. Ingham a little; I not at all. But the 14th being a calm day, most of the sick were cured at once.

Thurs. 18, One who was big with child, in a high fever, and almost wasted away with a violent cough, desired to receive the Holy Communion before she died. At the hour of her receiving, she began to recover, and in a few days was entirely out of danger.

Sunday 21, We had fifteen communicants, which was our usual number on Sundays; on Christmas-Day we had nineteen; but on New-year's-Day, fifteen only.

Thursday, Jan. 15, 1736, Complaint being made to Mr. Oglethorpe, of the unequal distribution of the water among the passengers, he appointed new officers to take charge of it. At this the old ones and their friends were highly exasperated against us, to whom they imputed the change. But *the fierceness of man shall be turned to thy praise.*

Saturday 17, Many people were very impatient at the contrary wind. At seven in the evening they were quieted by a storm. It rose higher and higher till nine. About nine the sea broke over us from stem to stern; burst through the windows of the state cabin, where three or four of us were, and covered us all over, though a bureau sheltered me from the main shock. About eleven I lay down in the great cabin, and in a short time fell asleep, though very uncertain whether I should wake alive, and much ashamed of my unwillingness to die. O how pure in heart must he be, who would rejoice to appear before God at a moment's warning! Toward morning, *He rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm.*

Sunday 18, We returned God thanks for our deliverance, of which a few appeared duly sensible. But the rest (among whom were most of the sailors) denied we had been in any danger. I could not have believed that so little good would have been done by the terror they were in before. But it cannot be that they should long obey God from fear, who are deaf to the motives of love.

Friday 23, In the evening, another storm began. In the morning it increased, so that they were forced to let the ship drive. I could not but say to myself, *How is it that thou hast no faith?* Being still unwilling to die. About one in the afternoon, almost as soon as I had stept out of the great cabin door, the sea did not break as usual, but came with a full, smooth tide over the side of the ship. I was vaulted over with water in a moment, and so stunned, that I scarce expected to lift up my head again, till the sea should give up her dead. But, thanks be to God, I received no hurt at all. About midnight the storm ceased.

Sunday 25, At noon our third storm began. At four it was more violent than any before. Now indeed we could say, *The waves of the sea were mighty and raged horribly. They rose up to the heavens above, and clave down to hell beneath.* The winds roared round about us, and (what I never heard before) whistled as distinctly as if it had been a human voice. The ship not only rocked to and fro with the utmost violence, but shook and jarred with so unequal, grating a motion, that one could not but with great difficulty keep hold on any thing, nor stand a moment without it. Every ten minutes came a shock against the stern or side of the ship, which one would think should dash the planks in pieces. At this time, a child, privately baptized before, was brought to be received into the church. It put me in mind of Jeremiah's buying the field, when the Chaldeans were on the point of destroying Jerusalem, and seemed a pledge of the mercy GOD designed to shew us, even in the land of the living.

We spent two or three hours after prayers in conversing suitably to the occasion, confirming one another in a calm submission to the wise, holy, gracious will of God. And now a storm did not appear so terrible as before. Blessed be the God of all consolation!

At seven I went to the Germans. I had long before observed, the great seriousness of their behaviour. Of their humility they had given a continual proof, by performing those servile offices for the other passengers, which none of the English would undertake; for which they desired, and would receive no pay, saying, "It was good for their proud hearts," and "Their loving Saviour had done more for them." And every day had given them occasion of shewing a meekness which no injury could move. If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again and went away; but no complaint was found in their mouth. There was now an opportunity of trying whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over, split the main sail in

pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The Germans calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterwards, "Were you not afraid?" He answered, "I thank God, No." I asked, "But were not your women and children afraid?" He replied mildly, "No; our women and children are not afraid to die."

From them I went to their crying trembling neighbours, and pointed out to them the difference, in the hour of trial, between him that feareth God, and him that feareth him not. At twelve the wind fell. This was the most glorious day which I have hitherto seen.

Monday 26, We enjoyed the calm. I can conceive no difference, comparable to that between a smooth and a rough sea, except that which is between a mind calmed by the love of God, and one torn up by the storms of earthly passions.

Thursday, January 29, About seven in the evening, we fell in with the skirts of a hurricane. The rain as well as the wind was extremely violent. The sky was so dark in a moment, that the sailors could not so much as see the ropes, or set about furling the sails. The ship must, in all probability have overset, had not the wind fell as suddenly as it rose. Toward the end of it, we had that appearance on each of the masts, which, it is thought, the ancients called Castor and Pollux. It was a small ball of white fire, like a star. The mariners say, it appears either in a storm (and then commonly upon the deck) or just at the end of it: and then it is usually on the masts or sails.

Friday 30, We had another storm, which did us no other harm, than splitting the fore-sail. Our bed being wet, I laid me down on the floor and slept sound till morning. And I believe, I shall not find it needful to go to bed, as it is called, any more.

Sunday, February 1, We spoke with a ship of Carolina: and Wednesday 4, came within soundings. About noon the trees were visible from the mast, and in the after-

noon from the main deck. In the evening lesson were these words, *A great door and effectual is opened.* O let no one shut it!

Thursday, February 5, Between two and three in the afternoon, God brought us all safe into the Savannah River. We cast anchor near Tybee Island, where the groves of pines, running along the shore, made an agreeable prospect, shewing, as it were, the bloom of spring in the depth of winter.

Friday 6, About eight in the morning, we first set foot on American ground. It was a small, uninhabited island, over against Tybee. Mr. Oglethorpe led us to a rising ground, where we all kneeled down to give thanks. He then took boat for Savannah. When the rest of the people were come on shore, we called our little flock together to prayers. Several parts of the second lesson, Mark vi. were wonderfully suited to the occasion; in particular, the account of the courage and sufferings of John the Baptist; our Lord's directions to the first preachers of his Gospel; and their toiling at sea, and deliverance with those comfortable words, *It is I, be not afraid.*

Saturday, February 7, Mr. Oglethorpe returned from Savannah, with Mr. Spangenberg, one of the Pastors of the Germans. I soon found what spirit he was of, and asked his advice with regard to my own conduct. He said, "My brother, I must first ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?" I was surprized, and knew not what to answer. He observed it and asked, "Do you know Jesus Christ?" I paused and said, "I know he is the Saviour of the world." "True; " replied he; but do you know he has saved you?" I answered, "I hope he has died to save me." He only added, "Do you know yourself?" I said, "I do." But I fear they were vain words.

Monday, 9, I asked him many questions, both concerning himself, and the church at Hernhuth. The substance of his answers was this:

"At eighteen years old I was sent to the University of Jena, where I spent some years in learning languages, and the vain philosophy, which I have now long been labouring to forget. Here it pleased GOD by some that preached his word with power, to overturn my heart. I immediately threw aside all my learning, but what tended to save my soul. I shunned all company and retired into a solitary place, resolving to spend my life there. For three days I had much comfort here; but on the fourth it was all gone. I was amazed, and went for advice to an experienced Christian. When I came to him I could not speak. But he saw my heart, and advised me to go back to my house, and follow the business Providence called me to. I went back, but was fit for nothing. I could neither do business, nor join in any conversation. All I could say to any one, was Yes, or No. Many times I could not say that, nor understand the plainest thing that was said to me. My friends and acquaintance looked upon me as dead, came no more to me, nor spoke about me.

"When I grew better, I began teaching some poor children. Others joined with me: we taught more and more, till there were above thirty teachers and above two hundred scholars. I had now invitations to other Universities. But I could not accept of any; desiring only, if it were the will of God, to be little and unknown. I had spent some years thus, when Professor Breithaupt, of Halle, died: being then pressed to remove thither, I believed it was the call of God, and went. I had not been long there, before many faults were found, both with my behaviour and preaching: and offences increased more and more till after half a year, a petition against me was sent to the King of Prussia, who sent an order to the commander at Halle, in pursuance whereof, I was warned to leave the city in forty-eight hours. I did so, and retired to Hernhuth, to Count Zinzendorf.

"The village of Hernhuth contains about a thousand souls, gathered out of many nations. They hold fast the discipline, as well as the faith and practice of the Apostolical

Church. I was desired by the brethren there last year, t conduct sixteen of them to Georgia, where two lots ground are assigned us, and with them I have stayed ev since."

I asked, "Whither he was going next?" He said, " have thoughts of going to Pennsylvania. But what Go will do with me, I know not. I am blind. I am a child My father knows, and I am ready to go, wherever he calls

Friday 13, Some of the Indians sent us word of thei intention to come down to us. In our course of reading to-day, were these words: *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, it shall yet come to pass that there shall come people, and the inhabitants of many cities. And the inhabitants of one city shall go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to pray before the Lord, and to seek the Lord of Hosts: I will go also. Yea, many people and strong nations, shall come to seek the Lord of Hosts, and to pray before him.* Zech. viii. 20, &c.

Saturday 14, About one, Tomo-Chachi, his nephew Thleeanouhee, his wife Sinauky, with two more women and two or three Indian children, came on board. As soon as we came in, they all rose, and shook us by the hand, and Tomo-Chachi (one Mrs. Musgrove interpreted) spoke as follows:

"I am glad you are come. When I was in England I desired that some would speak *the great Word* to me. And my nation then desired to hear it. But now we are all in confusion. Yet I am glad you are come. I will go up and speak to the wise men of our nation. And I hope they will hear. But we would not be made Christians, as the Spaniards make Christians. We would be taught, before we are baptized."

I answered, "There is but One, He that sitteth in Heaven, who is able to teach man wisdom. Though we are come so far, we know not whether he will please to teach you by us or not. If he teaches you, you will learn wisdom; but we can do nothing." We then withdrew.

Sunday 15, Another party of Indians came. They

were all tall, well-proportioned men, and had a remarkable softness in their speech, and gentleness in their whole behaviour. In the afternoon they all returned home, but three, who stayed to go with Mr. Oglethorpe.

Monday 16, Mr. Oglethorpe set out for the new settlement on the Alatamahaw river. He took with him fifty men; besides Mr. Ingham, Mr. Hermsdorf, and the three Indians.

Thursday, 19, My brother and I took boat, and passing by Savannah, went to pay our first visit in America to the poor Heathen. But neither Tomo Chachi nor Sinauky were at home. Coming back, we waited upon Mr. Causton, the chief magistrate of Savannah. From him we went with Mr. Spangenberg to the German brethren. About eleven we returned to the boat, and came to our ship about four in the morning.

Saturday, 21, Mary Welch, aged eleven days, was baptized according to the custom of the first church and the rule of the church of England, by immersion. The child was ill then, but recovered from that hour.

Tuesday, 24, Mr. Oglethorpe returned. The day following, I took my leave of most of the passengers of the ship, who all appeared serious. It may be, all the seed is not fallen upon stony ground.

In the evening I went to Savannah again, whence Mr. Spangenberg, bishop Nitschman, and Andrew Dober, went up with us to Mrs. Musgrove's, to choose a spot for the little house, which Mr. Oglethorpe had promised to build us. Being afterward disappointed of our boat, we were obliged to pass the night there. But wherever we are, it is the same thing, if it be the will of our Father which is in Heaven.

At our return the next day, (Mr. Quincy being then in the house wherein we afterwards were), Mr. Delamotte and I took up our lodging with the Germans. We had now an opportunity, day by day, of observing their whole behaviour. For we were in one room with them from morning to night, unless for the little time I spent in walking.

They were always employed, always cheerful themselves, and in good humour with one another. They had put away all anger and strife, and wrath and bitterness, and clamour and evil speaking. They walked worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called, and adorned the Gospel of our Lord in all things.

Saturday, February 28, They met to consult concerning the affairs of their church: Mr. Spangenberg being shortly to go to Pennsylvania, and bishop Nitschman to return to Germany. After several hours spent in conference and prayer, they proceeded to the election and ordination of a bishop. The great simplicity, as well as solemnity of the whole, almost made me forget the seventeen hundred years between, and imagine myself in one of those assemblies, where form and state were not; but Paul the tent-maker, or Peter the fisherman presided; yet with the demonstration of the Spirit and of power.

Sunday, 29, Hearing Mr. Oglethorpe did not come any more to Savannah, before he went to Frederica, I was obliged to go down to the ship again, (Mr. Spangenberg following me thither), and receive his orders and instructions on several heads. From him we went to public prayers; after which we were refreshed by several letters from England. Upon which, I could not but observe how careful our Lord is to repay whatever we give up on his account. When I left England, I was chiefly afraid of two things; one, that I should never again have so many faithful friends as I left there: the other, that the spark of love which began to kindle in their hearts, would cool and die away. But who knoweth the mercy and power of God? From ten friends I am a while secluded; and he hath opened me a door into a whole church. And as to the very persons I left behind, his Spirit is gone forth so much the more, teaching them not to trust in man, but *in him that raiseth the dead, and calleth the things that are not, as though they were.*"

About four, having taken leave of Mr. Spangenberg, who was, the next morning, to set out for Pennsylvania, I

returned to Savannah. Saturday, March 6, I had a long conversation with John Reinier, the son of a gentleman, who being driven out of France, on account of his religion, settled at Vivay in Switzerland, and practised physic there. His father died while he was a child. Some years after, he told his mother he was desirous to leave Switzerland, and to retire into some other country, where he might be free from the temptations which he could not avoid there. When her consent was at length obtained, he agreed with a master of a vessel, with whom he went to Holland by land; thence to England, and from England to Pennsylvania. He was provided with money, books, and drugs, intending to follow his father's profession. But no sooner was he come to Philadelphia, than the captain, who had borrowed his money before, instead of repaying it, demanded the full pay for his passage, and under that pretence seized on all his effects. He then left him in a strange country, where he could not speak to be understood, without necessaries, money, or friends. In this condition he thought it best to sell himself for a servant, which he accordingly did, for seven years. When about five were expired, he fell sick of a lingering illness, which made him useless to his master; who, after it had continued half a year, would not keep him any longer, but turned him out to shift for himself. He first tried to mend shoes, but soon after joined himself to some French protestants, and learned to make buttons. He then went and lived with an anabaptist; but soon after hearing an account of the Germans in Georgia, walked from Pennsylvania thither, where he found the rest, which he had so long sought in vain.

Sunday, March 7, I entered upon my ministry at Savannah, by preaching on the epistle for the day, being the 13th of the first of Corinthians. In the second lesson, Luke xviii. was our Lord's prediction of the treatment which he himself (and consequently his followers) was to meet with from the world; and his gracious promise to those who are content, *Nudi nudum Christum sequi: Verily I say unto*

you, there is no man that hath left house, or friends, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, which shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come everlasting life.

Yet notwithstanding these plain declarations of our Lord, notwithstanding my own repeated experience, notwithstanding the experience of all the sincere followers of Christ, whom I have ever talked with, read or heard of; nay, and the reason of the thing, evincing to a demonstration, That all who love not the light must hate him, who is continually labouring to pour it in upon them: I do here bear witness against myself, that when I saw the number of people crowding into the church, the deep attention with which they received the word, and the seriousness that afterwards sat on all their faces, I could scarce refrain from giving the lie, to Experience and Reason, and Scripture, all together. I could hardly believe that the greater, the far greater part of this attentive and serious people, would hereafter trample under foot that word, and say all manner of evil falsely of him that spake it. O who can believe, what their heart abhors! JESUS, Master, have mercy on us! Let us love thy cross! Then shall we believe, *If we suffer with thee, we shall also reign with thee!*

This evening one of the Germans, who had been long ill of a consumption, found himself much worse. On my mentioning it to Bishop Nitschman, he smiled and said, "He will soon be well; he is ready for the bridegroom."

Sunday 14, Having before given notice of my design to do so, every Sunday and holiday, according to the rules of our church, I administered the Holy communion to eighteen persons. Which of these will endure to the end?

Monday 15, Mr. Quincy going for Carolina, I removed into the minister's house. It is large enough for a larger family than ours, and has many conveniences, besides a good garden. I could not but reflect on the well-known Epigram,

'Αγρος Αχαιμενεδȣ γενομην ποτε· νυν δε Μενιππȣ.

How short a time will it be before its present possessor is removed! Perhaps to be no more seen!*

Sunday 28, A servant of Mr. Bradley's sent to desire to speak with me. Going to him I found a young man ill, but perfectly sensible. He desired the rest to go out and then said, "On Thursday night, about eleven, being in bed, but broad awake, I heard one calling aloud, 'Peter! Peter Wright!' And looking up, the room was as light as day; and I saw a man in very bright clothes stand by the bed,

* On the 18th, Mr. Wesley wrote to his mother as follows, "I doubt not but you are already informed of the many blessings which God gave us in our passage: as my brother Wesley must before now have received a particular account of the circumstances of our voyage; which he would not fail to transmit to you by the first opportunity. We are likely to stay here some months. The place is pleasant beyond imagination; and by all I can learn, exceeding healthful;—even in summer, for those who are not intemperate. It has pleased God that I have not had a moment's illness of any kind since I set my foot upon the Continent, nor do I know any more than one of my seven hundred parishioners who is sick at this time. Many of them, indeed, are, I believe, very angry already: for a gentleman, no longer ago than last night, made a ball; but the public prayers happening to begin about the same time, the church was full, and the ball-room so empty, that the entertainment could not go forward. "I should be heartily glad if any poor and religious men or women of Epworth or Wroote, would come over to me, and so would Mr. Oglethorpe too: He would give them land enough, and provisions gratis, till they could live on the produce of it."

Being now informed of the opposition which his brother Charles met with at Frederica; on the 22d. of March he wrote to him the following letter: "How different are the ways wherein we are led, yet I hope, toward the same end. I have hitherto no opposition at all: all is smooth and fair, and promising. Many seem to be awakened; all are full of respect and commendation. We cannot see any cloud gathering. But this calm cannot last; storms must come hither too: and let them come when we are ready to meet them.

"You are not, I think, at liberty *to turn to the Gentiles till your own countrymen shall cast you out.* If that period come soon so much the better: only in the mean while, reprove and exhort with all authority, even though all men should despise thee. Αποβησεται σοι εις μαρτυριον, *It shall turn to thee for a testimony.* See Luke xxi. 13. If Mr. Ingham were here, I would try to see you. But omit no opportunity of writing. Κινδυνευω πασαν ωραν, *I stand in jeopardy every hour.* Let us be strong and very courageous: for the Lord our God is with us: and there is no counsel or might against him!" It appears Mr. Charles took the hint his brother gave him, and on the 28th, sent Mr. Ingham to Savannah.

who said, 'Prepare yourself; for your end is nigh;' and then immediately all was dark as before." I told him, "The advice was good whencesoever it came." In a few days he recovered from his illness: His whole temper was changed as well as his life; and so continued to be, till after three or four weeks he relapsed and died in peace.

Tuesday 30, Mr. Ingham coming from Frederica, brought me letters, pressing me to go thither. The next day Mr. Delamotte and I began to try, Whether life might not be as well sustained, by one sort as by a variety of food. We chose to make the experiment with bread; and were never more vigorous and healthy than while we tasted nothing else. *Blessed are the pure in heart!* who, whether they eat or drink, or whatever they do, have no end therein but to please God! To them all things are pure. Every creature is good to them, and nothing to be rejected. But let them who know and feel that they are not thus pure, use every help and remove every hindrance; always remembering, *He that despiseth little things shall fall by little and little.*

Sunday, April 4, About four in the afternoon, I set out for Frederica, in a pettiawga, a sort of flat-bottomed barge. The next evening we anchored near Skidoway island, where the water at flood was twelve or fourteen feet deep. I wrapt myself up from head to foot in a large cloak, to keep off the sand flies, and lay down on the quarter-deck. Between one and two I waked under water, being so fast asleep that I did not find where I was till my mouth was full of it. Having left my cloak, I know not how, upon the deck, I swam round to the other side of the pettiawga, where a boat was tied, and climbed up by the rope, without any hurt, more than wetting my clothes. *Thou art the God of whom cometh salvation: Thou art the Lord by whom we escape death.*

The winds were so contrary, that on Saturday 10, we could but just get over-against Doboy island, twenty miles from Frederica, but could not possibly make the creek, having a strong tide also against us. Hear we lay beating

off till past one; when the lightning and rain which we had long seen at a distance, drove down full upon us; till after a quarter of an hour, the clouds parted, some passing on the right, and some on the left, leaving us a clear sky, and so strong a wind, right after us, as in two hours brought us to Frederica.

A little before we landed, I opened my Testament on these words, *If God be for us, who can be against us?* Coming on shore, I found my brother exceedingly weak, having been some time ill of a flux. But he mended from the hour he saw me. This also hath God wrought!

Sunday 11, I preached at the new storehouse, on the verse of the gospel for the day, *Which of you convinceth me of sin? And if I say the truth, why do you not believe me?* There was a large congregation, whom I endeavoured to convince of unbelief, by simply proposing the conditions of salvation, as they are laid down in Scripture, and appealing to their own hearts, whether they believed they could be saved on no other terms.

In every one of the six following days, I had some fresh proofs of the absolute necessity of following that wise advice of the Apostle, *Judge nothing before the time; until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the heart.*

Saturday 17, We set out for Savannah, and reached it on Tuesday evening. O blessed place, where having but one end in view, dissembling and fraud are not; but each of us can pour out his heart without fear into his brother's bosom.

Not finding as yet any door open for the pursuing of our main design, we considered in what manner we might be most useful to the little flock at Savannah. And we agreed, 1st. To advise the more serious among them to form themselves into a sort of little society, and to meet once or twice a week in order to improve, instruct, and exhort one another. 2. To select out of these a smaller number for a more inti-

mate union with each other, which might be forwarded, partly by our conversing singly with each, and partly by inviting them all together to our house; and this accordingly we determined to do every Sunday in the afternoon.*

Wednesday, May 5, I was asked to baptize a child of Mr. Parker's, second bailiff of Savannah. But Mrs. Parker told me, "Neither Mr. P. nor I will consent to its being dipped." I answered, "If you certify that your child is weak, it will suffice, the Rubrick says, to pour water upon it." She replied, "Nay the child is not weak; but I am resolved it shall not be dipped." This argument I could not confute. So I went home, and the child was baptized by another person.

Sunday 9, I began dividing the public prayers, according to the original appointment of the church, still observed in a few places in England. The morning service began at five. The communion office, with the sermon, at eleven. The evening service about three. And this day I began reading prayers in the court-house; a large and convenient place.

Monday 10, I began visiting my parishioners in order, from house to house; for which I set apart the time when they cannot work, because of the heat, viz. from twelve till three in the afternoon.

Sunday 16, We were surprized in the evening by my brother just coming from Frederica. After some conversation, we consulted how the poor people there might be taken care of during his absence. And it was at last agreed, that Mr. Ingham and I should take our turns in assisting them; and the first was allotted me. Accordingly on Tuesday 18, I walked to Thunderbolt; whence the next afternoon we set sail in a small boat. In the evening we touched at Skidoway, and had a small but attentive congregation, to join with us in evening prayer.

Saturday 22, About four in the afternoon we entered upon Doboy sound. The wind, which was right ahead, was so

* Here we see the origin of classes and bands, which have been instrumental of so much good in the Methodist Societies.

high, when we were in the middle of it, and the sea so rough, being driven in at the inlet, that the boat was on the point of sinking every moment; but it pleased God to bring us safe to the other side in half an hour, and to Frederica the next morning. We had public prayers at nine, at which nineteen persons were present; and, I think, nine communicants.

Friday 28, I read the commendatory prayer, by Mr. Germain, who lay at the point of death. He had lost his speech and his senses. His eyes were set, neither had he any discernible motion, but the heaving of his breast. While we stood round him, he stretched out his arms, rubbed his head, recovered his sight, speech, and understanding; and immediately sending for the bailiffs, settled the affairs of his family; and then lay down and died.

At the first service on Sunday, May 30, were only five, at the second twenty-five. The next day, I made Mr. Lassel's will; who, notwithstanding his great weakness, was quite revived, when any mention was made of death or of eternity.

Tuesday, June 1, After praying with him, I was surprised to find one of the most controverted questions in divinity, disinterested love, decided at once by a poor old man, without education, or learning, or any instructor, but the Spirit of God. I asked him, what he thought of Paradise, to which he had said he was going? He said, "To be sure it is a fine place. But I don't mind that. I don't care what place I am in. Let God put me where he will, or do with me what he will, so I may but set forth his honour and glory."

Thursday 3, Being ascension-day, we had the holy communion; but only Mr. Hird's family joined with us in it. One reason why there were no more was, because a few words which a woman had inadvertently spoken, had set almost all the town in a flame. Alas! how shall a city stand that is divided against itself? Where there is no brotherly love, no meekness, no forbearing, or forgiving one another: But envy, malice, revenge, suspicion, anger,

clamour, bitterness, evil-speaking, without end! Abundant proof, that there can be no true love of man, unless it be built on the love of God.

Sunday 6, Calling on Mr. Lassels, and asking how he did, "My departure, said he, I hope is at hand." I asked, "Are you troubled at that?" He replied, "O no; to depart and to be with Christ is far better. I desire no more of this bad world. My hope, and my joy, and my love is there." The next time I saw him he said, "I desire nothing more than God for to forgive my many and great sins. I would be humble. I would be the humblest creature living. My heart is humble and broken for my sins. Tell me, teach me, what shall I do to please God. I would fain do whatever is his will." I said, "It is his will you should suffer." He answered, "Then I will suffer. I will gladly suffer whatever pleases him."

Monday 7, Finding him weaker, I asked, "Do you still desire to die?" He said, "Yes; but I dare not pray for it, for fear I should displease my heavenly Father. His will be done. Let him work his will, in my life or in my death."

Thursday 10, We began to execute at Frederica what we had before agreed to do at Savannah. Our design was, on Sundays in the afternoon, and every evening after public service, to spend some time with the most serious of the communicants, in singing, reading, and conversation. This evening we had only Mark Hird. But on Sunday, Mr. Hird and two more desired to be admitted. After a psalm and a little conversation, I read Mr. Law's Christian Perfection, and concluded with another psalm.

Saturday 12, Being with one who was very desirous to converse with me, but not upon religion, I spoke to this effect: "Suppose you were going to a country where every one spoke Latin and understood no other language, neither would converse with any that did not understand it; Suppose one were sent to stay here a short time on purpose to teach it you; suppose that person, pleased with your company, should spend his time in trifling with you, and teach

you nothing of what he came for. Would that be well done? Yet this is our case. You are going to a country where every one speaks the love of God. The citizens of heaven understand no other language; they converse with none who do not understand it. Indeed none such are admitted there. I am sent from God to teach you this. A few days are allotted us for that purpose. Would it then be well done in me, because I was pleased with your company, to spend this short time in trifling, and teach you nothing of what I came for? God forbid! I will rather not converse with you at all. Of the two extremes, this is the best."

Wednesday 16, Another little company of us met, Messrs. Reed, Davidson, Walker, Delamotte, and myself. We sung, read a little of Mr. Law, and then conversed. Wednesdays and Fridays were the days we fixt for our constant meeting.

Thursday 17, An officer of a man of war, walking just behind with two or three of his acquaintance, cursed and swore exceedingly; but upon my reproving him, seemed much moved, and gave me many thanks.

Saturday 19, Mr. Oglethorpe returned from the south, and gave orders on Sunday the 20th that none should profane the day, as was usual before, by fishing or fowling upon it. In the afternoon I summed up what I had seen or heard at Frederica, inconsistent with Christianity, and consequently with the prosperity of the place. The event was as it ought: some of the hearers were profited, and the rest deeply offended.

This day, at half an hour past ten, God heard the prayer of his servant, and Mr. Lassels, according to his desire, was *dissolved that he might be with Christ.*

Tuesday 22, Observing much coldness in Mr. ——'s behaviour, I asked him the reason of it. He answered, I "like nothing you do; all your sermons are satires upon particular persons. Therefore I will never hear you more. And all the people are of my mind. For we wont hear ourselves abused."

"Beside, they say they are protestants. But as for you they can't tell what religion you are of. They never heard of such a religion before. They do not know what to make of it. And then your private behaviour—All the quarrels that have been here since you came have been long of you. Indeed there is neither man nor woman in the town who minds a word you say. And so you may preach long enough; but no body will come to hear you."

He was too warm for hearing an answer. So I had nothing to do but to thank him for his openness, and walk away.

Wednesday 23, I had a long conversation with Mr.——upon the nature of true religion. I then asked him, "Why he did not endeavour to recommend it to all with whom he conversed?" He said, "I did so once, and for some time, I thought I had done much good by it. But I afterwards found they were never the better, and I myself was the worse. Therefore, now, though, I always strive to be inoffensive in my conversation, I don't strive to make people religious, unless those that have a desire to be so, and are consequently willing to hear me. But I have not yet (I speak not of you or your brother) found one such person in America.

He that hath ears to hear let him hear! Mark the tendency of this accursed principle! If you will speak only to those who are willing to hear, see how many you will turn from the error of their ways! If, therefore, striving to do good, you have done hurt, what then? So did St. Paul; so did the Lord of life, even *his* word was *the savour of death, as well as the savour of life.* But shall you therefore strive no more? God forbid! strive more humbly, more calmly, more cautiously. Do not strive as you did before, but strive while the breath of God is in your nostrils!

Being to leave Frederica in the evening, I took the more notice of these words in the lesson for the day.—"*Whereunto shall I liken the men of this generation? they are like unto children sitting in the market-place, and saying, we have piped unto you and ye have not danced; we have mourned to you and ye have not wept. For John the Baptist came*

neither eating bread nor drinking wine, and ye say he hath a devil. The Son of man is come eating and drinking, and ye say, behold a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners," Luke vii.

About eleven at night we took boat; and on Saturday 26, about one in the afternoon came to Savannah. O what do we want here, either for life or godliness! If suffering, God will send it in his time.

Sunday 27, About twenty joined with us in morning prayer. An hour or two after, a large party of Creek Indians came, the expectation of whom deprived us of our place of public worship, in which they were to have their audience.

Wednesday 30, I hoped a door was opened, for going up immediately to the Choctaws, the least polished, *i. e.* the least corrupted of all the Indian nations. But upon my informing Mr. Oglethorpe of our design, he objected, not only the danger of being intercepted, or killed by the French there; but much more, the inexpediency of leaving Savannah destitute of a minister. These objections I related to our brethren in the evening, who were all of opinion we ought not to go yet.

Thursday, July 1, The Indians had an audience, and another on Saturday, when Chicali, their head man, dined with Mr. Oglethorpe. After dinner, I asked the grey-headed old man, "What he thought he was made for?" He said, "He that is above, knows what he made us for. We know nothing. We are in the dark. But white men know much. And yet white men build great houses, as if they were to live for ever. But white men cannot live for ever. In a little time white men will be dust as well as I." I told him, "If red men will learn the good Book, they may know as much as white men. But neither we nor you can understand that book, unless we are taught by him that is above: And he will not teach, unless you avoid, what you already know is not good." He answered, "I believe that; He will not teach us, while our hearts are not white. And our men do what they know is not good. They kill their

own children. And our women do what they know is not good. They kill the child before it is born. Therefore, He that is above, does not send us the good Book."

Hearing the younger of the Miss Bovey's was not well, I called upon them this evening. I found she had only the prickly heat, a sort of rash, very common here in summer. We soon fell into serious conversation, after I had asked, "If they did not think they were too young, to trouble themselves with religion yet? And, whether they might not defer it ten or a dozen of years?" To which one of them replied, "If it will be reasonable ten years hence, to be religious, it is so now: I am not for deferring one moment."

Wednesday 7, I called there again, being determined now to speak more closely. But meeting company there, prudence induced me to put it off; till another opportunity.

Thursday 8, Mr. O. being there, and casually speaking of sudden death, Miss Becky said, "If it were the will of God, I should choose to die without a lingering illness." Her sister said, "Are you then always prepared to die?" She replied, "JESUS CHRIST is always prepared to help me. And little stress is to be laid on such a preparation for death, as is made in a fit of sickness."

Saturday 10, Just as they had done drinking tea, Mrs. Margaret seeing her colour change, asked, If she was well? She did not return any answer; and Dr. Talser soon after going by, she desired him to step in, and said, "Sir, my sister, I fear, is not well." He looked earnestly at her, felt her pulse, and replied, "Well, Madam! Your sister is dying." However he thought it not impossible, bleeding might help. She bled about an ounce, leaned back and died.

As soon as I heard of it, I went to the house, and begged they would not lay her out immediately, there being a possibility, at least, she might only be in a swoon: of which indeed there was some slight hope, she not only being as warm as ever, but having a fresh colour in her cheeks, and a few drops of blood starting out, upon bending her arm;

but there was no pulse and no breath; so that having waited some hours, we found her *spirit was indeed returned to God that gave it.*

I never saw so beautiful a corps in my life. Poor comfort to its late inhabitant! I was greatly surprized at her sister. There was in all her behaviour, such an inexpressible mixture of tenderness and resignation. The first time I spoke to her, she said, "All my afflictions are nothing to this. I have lost not only a sister, but a friend. But it is the will of God. I rely on Him; and doubt not but he will support me under it."

This evening we had such a storm of thunder and lightning, as I never saw before even in Georgia. This voice of God too, told me I was not fit to die; since I was afraid, rather than desirous of it! O when shall I wish to be dissolved and to be with Christ! When I love him with all my heart.

Almost the whole town was the next evening at the funeral: where many doubtless made a world of good resolutions. O how little trace of most of these will be left in the morning! It is a true saying, "Hell is paved with good intentions."

Tuesday, July 20, Five of the Chicasaw Indians, (twenty of whom had been in Savannah several days) came to see us, with Mr. Andrews, their interpreter. They were all warriors; four of them head men. The two chief were Paustoobee and Mingo Mattaw. Our conference was as follows:

Q. Do you believe, There is one above, who is over all things?

Paustoobee answered, We believe there are four beloved things above, the clouds, the sun, the clear sky, and He that lives in the clear sky.

Q. Do you believe, there is but one that lives in the clear sky?

A. We believe, there are two with him, three in all.

Q. Do you think, he made the sun, and the other beloved things?

A. We cannot tell. Who hath seen?

Q. Do you think, He made you?

A. We think, He made all men at first.

Q. How did He make them at first?

A. Out of the ground.

Q. Do you believe, He loves you?

A. I do not know. I cannot see him.

Q. But has He not often saved your life?

A. He has. Many bullets have gone on this side, and many on that side, but He would never let them hurt me. And many bullets have gone into these young men; and yet they are alive.

Q. Then, cannot He save you from your enemies now?

A. Yes, but we know not, if He will. We have now so many enemies round about us, that I think of nothing but death. And if I am to die, I shall die, and I will die like a man. But if He will have me to live, I shall live. Though I had ever so many enemies, He can destroy them all.

Q. How do you know that?

A. From what I have seen. When our enemies came against us before, then the beloved clouds came for us. And often much rain, and sometimes hail has come upon them, and that in a very hot day. And I saw, when many French and Choctaws and other nations came against one of our towns. And the ground made a noise under them, and the beloved ones in the air behind them. And they were afraid, and went away, and left their meat and drink and their guns. I tell no lie. All these saw it too.

Q. Have you heard such noises at other times?

A. Yes, often: before and after almost every battle.

Q. What sort of noises were they?

A. Like the noise of drums and guns and shouting.

Q. Have you heard any such lately?

A. Yes: Four days after our last battle with the French.

Q. Then you heard nothing before it?

A. The night before I dreamed I heard many drums up there, and many trumpets there, and much stamping of feet

and shouting. Till then I thought we should all die. But then I thought the beloved ones were come to help us. And the next day I heard above a hundred guns go off, before the fight begun. And I said, "when the sun is there, the beloved ones will help us; and we shall conquer our enemies." And we did so.

Q. Do you often think and talk of the beloved ones?

A. We think of them always, wherever we are. We talk of them and to them, at home and abroad; in peace, in war, before and after we fight; and indeed whenever and wherever we meet together.

Q. Where do you think your souls go after death?

A. We believe the souls of red men walk up and down near the place where they died, or where their bodies lie. For we have often heard cries and noises near the place where any prisoners had been burnt.

Q. Where do the souls of white men go after death?

A. We cannot tell. We have not seen.

Q. Our belief is, That the souls of bad men only walk up and down; but the souls of good men go up.

A. I believe so too. But I told you the talk of the nation.

(Mr. Andrews. "They said at the burying, they knew what you were doing. You were speaking to the beloved ones above to take up the soul of the young woman.")

Q. We have a book that tells us many things of the beloved ones above. Would you be glad to know them?

A. We have no time now, but to fight. If we should ever be at peace, we should be glad to know.

Q. Do you expect ever to know what the white men know?

(Mr. Andrews. "They told Mr. O. they believe the time will come, when the red and white men will be one.")

Q. What do the French teach you?

A. The French Black * Kings never go out. We see you go about. We like that. That is good.

* So they call the Priests.

Q. How came your nation by the knowledge they have?

A. As soon as ever the ground was sound, and fit to stand upon, it came to us, and hath been with us ever since. But we are young men. Our old men know more. But all of them do not know. There are but a few; whom the beloved one chooses from a child, and is in them, and takes care of them, and teaches them. They know these things: and our old men practise; therefore they know: but I do not practise. Therefore I know little."

Monday 26, My brother and I set out for Charles-Town, in order to his embarking for England. But the wind being contrary, we did not reach Port-Royal, 40 miles from Savannah, till Wednesday evening. The next morning we left it. But the wind was so high in the afternoon, as we were crossing the neck of St. Helena's Sound, that our oldest sailor cried out, "Now every man must take care of himself." I told him "God will take care for us all." Almost as soon as the words were spoken, the mast fell, I kept on the edge of the boat, to be clear of her when she sunk, (which we expected every moment) though with little prospect of swimming ashore, against such a wind and sea. But *how is it that thou hadst no faith?* The moment the mast fell, two men caught it and pulled it into the boat; the other three rowed with all their might, and God *gave command to the winds and seas*, so that in an hour we were safe on land.

Saturday 31, We came to Charles-Town. The church is of brick, but plaistered over like stone. I believe it would contain three or four thousand persons. About three hundred persons were present at the morning service the next day, when Mr. Garden desired me to preach, about fifty at the holy communion. I was glad to see several Negroes at church; one of whom told me, "she was there constantly; and that her old mistress (now dead) had many times instructed her in the Christian religion." I asked her, What religion was? She said, "she could not tell." I asked, if she knew what a soul was? She answered, "No." I said, "Do not you know there is something in

you, different from your body? Something you cannot see or feel?" She replied, "I never heard so much before." I added, "Do you think then, a man dies altogether as a horse dies?" She said, "Yes, to be sure." O God, where are thy tender mercies! Are they not over all thy works! When shall the Sun of Righteousness arise on these outcasts of men, with healing in his wings!

Monday, August 2, I set out for the Lieutenant Governor's seat, about thirty miles from Charles-Town, to deliver Mr. Oglethorpe's letters. It stands very pleasantly, on a little hill, with a vale on either side, in one of which is a thick wood: the other is planted with rice and Indian corn. I designed to have gone back by Mr. Skeene's, who has about fifty Christian Negroes. But my horse tiring, I was obliged to return the straight way to Charles-Town.

I had sent the boat we came in, back to Savannah, expecting a passage thither myself in Col. Bull's. His not going so soon, I went to Ashley-Ferry on Thursday, intending to walk to Port-Royal. But Mr. Belinger not only provided me a horse, but rode with me himself ten miles, and sent his son with me to Cumbee-Ferry, twenty miles farther; whence having hired horses and a guide, I came to Beaufort (or Port Royal) the next evening. We took boat in the morning; but the wind being contrary, and very high, did not reach Savannah till Sunday in the afternoon.

Finding Mr. Oglethorpe was gone, I stayed only a day at Savannah: and leaving Mr. Ingham and Delamotte there, set out on Tuesday morning for Frederica. In walking to Thunderbolt, I was in so heavy a shower, that all my clothes were as wet as if I had gone through the river. On which occasion I cannot but observe that vulgar error, concerning the hurtfulness of the rains and dews of America. I have been throughly wet with these rains more than once; yet without any harm at all. And I have lain many nights in the open air, and received all the dews that fell. And so I believe might any one, if his constitution was not impaired by the softness of a genteel education.

At Thunderbolt we took boat, and on Friday, Aug. 13, came to Frederica, where I delivered Mr. O. the letters, I had brought from Carolina. The next day he set out for Fort St. George. From that time I had less and less prospect of doing good at Frederica; many there being extremely zealous, and indefatigably diligent to prevent it: and few of the rest daring to shew themselves of another mind, for fear of their displeasure.

Saturday 28, I set apart, out of the few we had, a few books towards a library at Frederica. In the afternoon I walked to the Fort on the other side of the island. About five we set out homeward. But my guide not being perfect in the way, we were soon lost in the woods. We walked on however as well as we could, till between nine and ten; when being heartily tired, and throughly wet with dew, we lay down and slept till morning.

About day-break on Sunday the 29th, we set out again, endeavouring to walk straight forward, and soon after sunrise found ourselves in the Great Savannah near Frederica. By this good Providence I was delivered from another fear, That of lying in the woods; which experience shewed was to one in tolerable health a meer *Lion in the way*.

Thursday, Sept. 2, I set out in a sloop, and about ten on Sunday morning, came to Skidoway; which, after reading prayers, and preaching to a small congregation, I left, and came to Savannah in the evening.

Monday 13, I began reading with Mr. Delamotte, Bishop Beveridge's *Pandectæ Canonum Conciliorum*. Nothing could so effectually have convinced us, That both particular and general Councils may err, and have erred: and that things ordained by them as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless they be taken out of the Holy Scripture.

Monday 20, We ended (of which also I must confess, I once thought more highly than I ought to think) the apostolical canons; so called, as Bishop Beveridge observes, *because partly grounded upon, partly agreeing with, the traditions delivered down from the Apostles*. But he ob-

serves farther, (in the 159th page of his *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Primitivæ:* and why did he not observe it in the first page of the book?) *They contain the discipline used in the church at the time when they were collected: not when the Council of* Nice *met; for then many parts of it were useless and obsolete.*

Tuesday, October 12, We considered whether any thing could yet be done, for the poor people of Frederica. And I submitted to the judgment of my friends, which was, that I should take another journey thither: Mr. Ingham undertaking to supply my place at Savannah, for the time I should stay there, I came thither on Saturday the 16th, and found few things better than I expected. The morning and evening prayers, which were read for a while after my leaving the place, had long been discontinued, and from that time every thing grew worse and worse: not many retaining any more of the form than of the power of godliness.

I was at first a little discouraged, but soon remembered the word which cannot fail, *Greater is he that is in you than he that is in the world.* I cried to God to *arise and maintain his own cause:* and after the evening prayers were ended, invited a few to my house, as I did every night while I stayed in Frederica. I read to them one of the exhortations of Ephrem Syrus, the most awakening writer, I think, of all the antients. We concluded our reading and conversation with a psalm, and I trust, our God gave us his blessing.

Monday 18, Finding there were several Germans at Frederica, who not understanding the English tongue, could not join in our public service, I desired them to meet me at my house; which they did every day at noon from thence forward. We first sung a German hymn, then I read a chapter in the New Testament, then explained it to them as well as I could; after another hymn we concluded with prayer.

Monday 25, I took boat, and after a slow and dangerous passage, came to Savannah on Sunday the 31st.

Tuesday, Nov. 23, Mr. Oglethorpe sailed for England, leaving Mr. Ingham, Mr. Delamotte and me at Savannah, but with less prospect of preaching to the Indians than we had the first day we set foot in America. Whenever I mentioned it, it was immediately replied, "You cannot leave Savannah without a minister." To this indeed my plain answer was, "I know not that I am under any obligation to the contrary. I never promised to stay here one month. I openly declared both *before, at, and ever since* my coming hither, that I neither would nor could take charge of the English any longer than till I could go among the Indians." If it was said, "But did not the Trustees of Georgia appoint you to be minister of Savannah?" I replied, "They did; but it was not done by my solicitation: It was done without either my desire or knowledge. Therefore I cannot conceive that appointment to lay me under any obligation of continuing there, any longer than till a door is opened to the heathen: and this I expressly declared, at the time I consented to accept of that appointment." But though I had no other obligation not to leave Savannah now, yet that of love I could not break through: I could not resist the importunate request of the more serious parishioners, "To watch over their souls yet a little longer, till some one came who might supply my place." And this I the more willingly did, because the time was not come to preach the gospel of peace to the heathen; all their nations being in a ferment; and Paustoobee and Mingo Mattaw, having told me in terms, in my own house, 'Now our enemies are all about us, and we can do nothing but fight; but if the beloved ones should ever give us to be at peace, then we would hear the *Great Word.*'

Thursday, Dec. 9, Hearing of one dangerously ill, I went to her immediately: She told me, "that she had many things to say:" But her weakness prevented her saying them then; and the next day God required her soul of her.

Wednesday 23, Mr. Delamotte and I, with a guide, set out to walk to the Cowpen; when we had walked two or

three hours, our guide told us plainly, "He did not know where we were." However, believing it could not be far off, we thought it best to go on. In an hour or two we came to a cypress-swamp, which lay directly across our way: There was not time to walk back to Savannah before night; so we walked through it, the water being about breast-high. By that time we had gone a mile beyond it, we were out of all path; and it now being past sun-set, we sat down, intending to make a fire, and to stay there till morning; but finding our tinder wet, we were at a stand; I advised to walk on still; but my companions being faint and weary, were for lying down, which we accordingly did about six o'clock: The ground was as wet as our clothes, which (it being a sharp frost) were soon froze together; however, I slept till six in the morning. There fell a heavy dew in the night, which covered us over as white as snow. Within an hour after sun-rise, we came to a plantation, and in the evening, without any hurt, to Savannah.

Tuesday 28, We set out by land with a better guide for Frederica. On Wednesday evening we came to Fort-Argyle, on the back of the river Ogeechy. The next afternoon we crost Cooanochy river in a small canoo, our horses swimming by the side of it. We made a fire on the bank, and notwithstanding the rain, slept quietly till the morning.

Saturday, Jan. 1, 1737, Our provisions fell short, our journey being longer than we expected; but having a little barbecued bears-flesh (i. e. dried in the sun) we boiled it, and found it wholesome food. The next day we reached Darien, the settlement of the Scotch Highlanders, a sober, industrious, friendly, hospitable people; whose minister, Mr. M'Leod, is a serious, resolute, and, I hope, a pious man.

On Monday evening we left Darien, and on Wednesday 5, came to Frederica. Most here were as we expected, cold and heartless: We found not one who retained his first love. O send forth thy light and thy truth, that they may guide them! Let them not yet follow their own imaginations!

After having *beaten the air* in this unhappy place for twenty days, on January 26, I took my final leave of Frederica. It was not any apprehension of my own danger, though my life had been threatened many times, but an utter despair of doing good there; which made me content with the thought of seeing it no more.

In my passage home, having procured a celebrated book, the Works of Nicholas Machiavel, I set myself carefully to read and consider it. I began with a prejudice in his favour; having been informed, he had often been misunderstood, and greatly misrepresented. I weighed the sentiments that were less common; transcribed the passages wherein they were contained; compared one passage with another, and endeavoured to form a cool, impartial judgment; and my cool judgment is, That if all the other doctrines of devils which have been committed to writing, since letters were in the world, were collected together in one volume, it would fall short of this: And, that should a prince form himself by this book, so calmly recommending hypocrisy, treachery, lying, robbery, oppression, adultery, whoredom and murder of all kinds; Domitian or Nero would be an angel of light, compared to that man.*

Monday 31, We came to Savannah. Tuesday, February 1, being the anniversary feast, on account of the first convoy's landing in Georgia, we had a sermon, and the holy communion. Thursday 24, It was agreed, Mr. Ingham should go for England, and endeavour to bring over (if it should please God) some of our friends to

* Nicholas Machiavel was born of a distinguished family at Florence. The book here referred to is a political treatise, entitled, *The Prince*, which, of all his writings, has made the greatest noise in the world. Mankind are not agreed as to the motives of this work; some thinking he meant to recommend tyrannical maxims; others that he only delineated them to excite abhorrence. Some have said his greatest fault was that he told the world what bad princes did, not what they ought to do; and that his principles, though daily condemned are daily put in practice. It has also been said, that he took his political maxims from the government of the Popes. He died in 1530.

strengthen our hands in his work. Saturday 26, He left Savannah.

By Mr. Ingham I wrote to Dr. Bray's associates, who had sent a parochial library to Savannah.* It is expected of the Ministers who receive these, to send an account to their benefactors of the method they use in catechising the children, and instructing the youth of their respective parishes. That part of the letter was as follows:

"Our general method is this: A young gentleman, who "came with me, teaches between thirty and forty chil- "dren to read, write, and cast accounts. Before school in "the morning, and after school in the afternoon, he cate- "chises the lowest class, and endeavours to fix something "of what was said, in their understanding as well as their "memories. In the evening he instructs the elder children. "On Saturday in the afternoon I catechise them all. The "same I do on Sunday before the evening service. And "in the church, immediately after the second lesson, a "select number of them having repeated the catechism

* Dr. Thomas Bray was born at Marton, in Shropshire, in the year 1656, and educated at Oxford. He was at length presented to the vicarage of Over-Whitacre, in Warwickshire; and in 1760, to the rectory of Sheldon, where he composed his Catechetical Lectures, which procured him such reputation, that Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, pitched upon him as a proper person to model the infant church of Maryland, and for that purpose he was invested with the office of commissary. He now engaged in several noble undertakings. He procured sums to be raised for purchasing small libraries, for the use of the poor ministers in the several parts of our plantations: and the better to promote this design he published two books: one entitled, *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, or a scheme of such theological and other heads, as seem requisite to be perused or occasionally consulted by the clergy, together with a catalogue of books which may be profitably read on each of those points; the other, *Apostolical Charity*, its nature and excellency considered. He endeavoured to get a fund established for the propagation of the gospel, especially among the uncultivated *Indians*; and by his means a patent was obtained for erecting the corporation called, The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He, by his industry, procured relief for prisoners; and formed the plan of the society for the reformation of manners, charity schools, &c He wrote 1. his *Martyrology* or Papal usurpation, in one volume folio. 2. *Directorium Missionarium*; and other works. He died in 1730.

" and been examined in some part of it, I endeavour to
" explain it at large, and to enforce that part, both on them
" and the congregation.

" Some time after the evening service, as many of my
" parishioners as desire it, meet at my house, as they do
" also on Wednesday evenings, and spend about an hour
" in prayer, singing and mutual exhortation. A smaller
" number (mostly those who design to communicate the
" next day) meet here on Saturday evenings; and a few of
" these come to me on the other evenings, and pass half an
" hour in the same employment."

Friday, March 4, I wrote the Trustees for Georgia an account of the last year's expence, from March 1, 1736, to March 1, 1737, which, deducting extraordinary expences, such as repairing the parsonage house, and journeys to Frederica, amounted for Mr. Delamotte and me to 44l. 4s. 4d.

From the directions I received from God this day, touching an affair of the greatest importance, I could not but observe, as I had done many times before, the entire mistake of those, who assert, " God will not answer your prayer, unless your heart be wholly resigned to his will." My heart was not wholly resigned to his will. Therefore, not daring to depend on my own judgment, I cried the more earnestly to him, To supply what was wanting in me. And I know and am assured, He heard my voice, and did send forth his light and his truth.

Thursday 24, A fire broke out in the house of Robert Hows, and in an hour burnt it to the ground. A collection was made for him the next day; and the generality of the people shewed a surprising willingness, to give a little out of their little, for the relief of a necessity greater than their own.

About this time Mr. Lacy of Thunderbolt called upon me; when observing him to be in a deep sadness, I asked, What was the reason of it? And a terrible one indeed he gave in the relation following:

In 1733, David Jones, a saddler, a middle aged man,

who had for some time before lived at Nottingham, being at Bristol, met a person there; who after giving him some account of Georgia, asked, Whether he would go thither? Adding, his trade (that of a saddler) was an exceeding good trade there, upon which he might live, creditably and comfortably. He objected his want of money to pay his passage, and buy some tools which he should have need of. The gentleman told him, He would supply him with that, and hire him a shop when he came to Georgia, wherein he might follow his business, and so repay him, as it suited his convenience. Accordingly to Georgia they went; where, soon after his arrival, his master, as he now styled himself, sold him to Mr. Lacy, who set him to work with the rest of his servants in clearing land. He commonly appeared much more thoughtful than the rest, often stealing into the woods alone. He was now sent to do some work on an island three or four miles from Mr. Lacy's great plantation. Thence he desired the other servants to return without him, saying, he would stay and kill a deer. This was on Saturday. On Monday they found him on the shore with his gun by him, and the fore part of his head shot to pieces. In his pocket was a paper book, all the leaves thereof were fair, except one, on which ten or twelve verses were written; two of which were these, which I transcribed thence from his own hand-writing:

> "Death could not a more sad retinue find;
> Sickness and pain before, and darkness all behind!"

Sunday, April 3, and every day in this great and holy week, we had a sermon and the holy communion.

Monday 4, I began learning Spanish, in order to converse with my Jewish parishioners; some of whom seem nearer the mind that was in Christ, than many of those who call him Lord.

Tuesday 12, Being determined, if possible, to put a stop to the proceedings of one in Carolina, who had married several of my parishioners without either banns or licence, and declared, "He would do so still;" I set out in a sloop for Charles-Town. I landed there on Thursday, and related

the case to Mr. Garden, the Bishop of London's Commissary, who assured me, he would take care no such irregularity should be committed for the future.

Sunday 17, Mr. Garden, to whom I must ever acknowledge myself indebted for many kind and generous offices, desiring me to preach, I did so, on those words of the epistle for the day, *Whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world.* To that plain account of the Christian state which these words naturally led me to give, a man of education and character seriously objected, what is indeed a great truth, "Why if this be Christianity, a Christian must have more courage than Alexander the Great."

Tuesday 19, We left Charles-Town; but meeting with stormy and contrary winds, after losing our anchor, and beating out at sea all night, on Thursday 21, we with some difficulty got back into Charles-Town harbour.

Friday 22, It being the time of their annual visitation, I had the pleasure of meeting with the clergy of South Carolina; among whom in the afternoon there was such a conversation for several hours, on *Christ our Righteousness*, as I had not heard at any visitation in England, or hardly on any other occasion.

Saturday 23, Mentioning to Mr. Thompson, Minister of St. Bartholomew's, near Ponpon, my being disappointed of a passage home by water, he offered me one of his horses if I would go by land, which I gladly accepted of. He went with me twenty miles, and sent his servant to guide me the other twenty to his house. Finding a young Negroe there, who seemed more sensible than the rest, I asked her, how long she had been in Carolina? she said, two or three years; but that she was born in Barbadoes, and had lived there in a minister's family from a child. I asked whether she went to church there? she said, "Yes, every sunday, to carry my mistress's children." I asked what she had learned at church? she said, "Nothing; I heard a deal, but did not understand it." "But what did your master teach you at home?" "Nothing." "Nor your mistress?" "No." I asked, "But don't you know that your hands and feet,

and this you call your body, will turn to dust in a little time?" she answered, "Yes." "But there is something in you that will not turn to dust, and this is what they call your soul. Indeed you cannot see your soul, though it is within you; as you cannot see the wind, though it is all about you. But if you had not a soul in you, you could no more see, or hear, or feel, than this table can. What do you think will become of your soul, when your body turns to dust?" "I don't know." "Why, it will go out of your body, and go up there, above the sky, and live always. God lives there. Do you know who God is?" "No." "You cannot see him, any more than you can see your own soul; it is He that made you and me, and all men and women, and all beasts and birds, and all the world. It is He that makes the sun shine, and rain fall, and corn and fruits to grow out of the ground. He makes all these for us. But why, do you think, He made us? What did He make you and me for?" "I cannot tell." "He made you to live with himself above the sky; and so you will in a little time,—if you are good. If you are good, when your body dies your soul will go up, and want nothing; and have whatever you can desire. No one will beat or hurt you there. You will never be sick. You will never be sorry any more, nor afraid of any thing. I can't tell you, I do not know how happy you will be; for you will be with God."

The attention with which this poor creature listened to instruction is inexpressible. The next day she remembered all, readily answered every question; and said, she would ask him that made her, to show her how to be good.

Sunday 24, I preached twice at Ponpon chapel, on the 13th chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians. O how will even these men of Carolina, who come eight, ten, or twelve miles to hear the gospel, rise in judgment against those who hear it not, when it is preached at their own doors!

Wednesday 27, I came to Mr. Belinger's plantation at Chulifinny, where the rain kept me till Friday. Here I

met with an half Indian (one that had an Indian mother and a Spanish father), and several Negroes, who were very desirous of instruction. One of them said, "When I was at Ashley-ferry, I went to church every Sunday. But here we are buried in the woods. Though if there were any church within five or six miles, I am so lame I cannot walk, but I would crawl thither."

Mr. Belinger sent a Negro-lad with me to Purrysburg, or rather to the poor remains of it. O how hath God stretched over this place the *lines of confusion, and the stones of emptiness!* Alas for those whose lives were here vilely cast away, through oppression, through divers plagues and troubles! O earth! How long wilt thou hide their blood! How long wilt thou cover thy slain!

This lad too I found both very desirous and very capable of instruction. And perhaps one of the easiest and shortest ways to instruct the American Negroes in Christianity, would be first to inquire after and find out some of the most serious of the planters. Then having inquired of them which of their slaves were best inclined and understood English, to go to them from plantation to plantation, staying as long as appeared necessary at each. Three or four gentlemen in Carolina I have been with that would be sincerely glad of such an assistant; who might pursue his work with no more hinderance than must every where attend the preaching of the gospel.

Saturday 30, I came to Savannah, and found my little flock in a better state than I could have expected; God having been pleased greatly to bless the endeavours of my fellow-labourer, while I was absent from them.

Wednesday, May 18, I discovered the first convert to Deism that, I believe, has been made here. He was one that for some time had been zealously and exemplarily religious; but indulging himself in what is called harmless company, he first made shipwreck of his zeal, and then of his faith. I have since found several others that have been attacked; they have as yet maintained their ground. But

I doubt the devil's apostles are too industrious to let them long halt between two opinions.

Wednesday 25, I was sent for by one who had been several years of the church of Rome; but was now deeply convinced, as were several others, by what I had occasionally preached, of the grievous errors that church is in, and the great danger of continuing a member of it. Upon this occasion I could not but reflect on the many advices I had received, to beware of the increase of Popery; but not one, that I remember, to beware of the increase of infidelity. This was quite surprising when I considered, 1. That in every place where I have yet been, the number of converts to Popery bore no proportion to the number of converts to infidelity. 2. That as bad a religion as Popery is, no religion is still worse; a baptized infidel being always found upon the trial, two-fold worse than even a bigotted Papist. 3. That as dangerous a state as a Papist is in, with regard to eternity, a Deist is in a yet more dangerous state, if he be not, without repentance, an assured heir of damnation. And lastly, That as hard as it is to recover a Papist, it is still harder to recover an infidel: I myself have known many Papists, but never one Deist re-converted.

May 29, Being Whitsunday, four of our scholars, after having been instructed daily for several weeks, were, at their earnest and repeated desire, admitted to the Lord's table. I trust their zeal hath stirred up many, to *remember their Creator in the days of their youth*, and to redeem the time, even in *the midst of an evil and adulterous generation.*

Indeed about this time we observed the Spirit of God to move upon the minds of many of the children; they began more carefully to attend to the things that were spoken both at home and at church, and a remarkable seriousness appeared in their whole behaviour and conversation. Who knows but some of them may *grow up to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.*

June 25, Mr. Causton, the store-keeper and chief magistrate of Savannah, was seized with a slow fever. I attended him every day, as I did any of my parishioners, who were

in any painful or dangerous illness, and had a good hope from the thankfulness he shewed, that my labour was not in vain.

Sunday, July 3, Immediately after the holy communion, I mentioned to Mrs. Williamson, Mr. Causton's niece, some things which I thought reproveable in her behaviour. At this she appeared extremely angry, and said, *she did not expect such usage from me;* and at the turn of the street, through which we were walking home, went abruptly away. The next day Mrs. Causton endeavoured to excuse her; told me, she was exceedingly grieved for what had past the day before, and desired me to tell her in writing what I disliked; which I accordingly did the day following.

But first, I sent Mr. Causton the following note:

"SIR,

"To this hour you have shewn yourself my friend: I ever have and ever shall acknowledge it. And it is my earnest desire, that he who hath hitherto given me this blessing would continue it still.

"But this cannot be, unless you will allow me one request, which is not so easy a one as it appears: *Do not condemn me for doing, in the execution of my offices, what I think it my duty to do.*

"If you can prevail upon yourself to allow me this, even when I act without respect of persons, I am persuaded there will never be, at least not long, any misunderstanding between us. For even those who seek it, shall, I trust, find no occasion against me, *except it be concerning the law of my God.*

July 5, 1737. I am, &c."

Wednesday 6, Mr. Causton came to my house, with Mr. Bailiff Parker, and Mr. Recorder, and warmly asked, "How could you possibly think I should condemn you, for executing any part of your office?" I said short, "Sir, what if I should think it the duty of my office, to repel one of your family from the holy communion?" He replied,

"If you repel me or my wife, I shall require a legal reason. But I shall trouble myself about none else. Let them look to themselves."

Saturday 9, Meeting with a Frenchman of New Orleans on the Mississippi, who had lived several months among the Chicasaws, he gave us a full and particular account of many things which had been variously related. And hence we could not but remark, What is the *Religion of Nature*, properly so called; or, That Religion which flows from natural reason, unassisted by Revelation: and that, even in those who have the knowledge of many truths, and who converse with their beloved ones day and night. But too plainly does it appear by the fruits, *That the gods of these Heathens too are but devils.*

The substance of his account was this: "Some years past, the Chicasaws and French were friends. The French were then mingled with the Nautchee Indians, whom they used as slaves; till the Nautchees made a general rising and took many of the French prisoners. But soon after, a French army set upon them, killed many and carried away the rest. Among those that were killed were some Chicasaws, whose death the Chicasaw nation resented: and soon after, as a French boat was going through their country, they fired into it, and killed all the men but two. The French resolved on revenge, and orders were given for many Indians, and several parties of white men, to rendezvous on the 26th of March, 1736, near one of the Chicasaw towns. The first party, consisting of fifty men, came thither some days before the time. They stayed there till the 24th, but none came to join them. On the 25th, they were attacked by two hundred Chicasaws. The French attempted to force their way through them. Five or six and twenty did so; the rest were taken prisoners. The prisoners were sent two or three to a town to be burnt. Only the commanding officer and one or two more were put to death on the place of the engagement."

"I," said he, "and one more, were saved by the warrior who took us. The manner of burning the rest was,

holding lighted canes to their arms and legs, and several parts of their bodies, for some time, and then for a while taking them away. They likewise stuck burning pieces of wood into their flesh all round, in which condition they kept them from morning till evening. But they commonly beat them before they burnt them. I saw the Priest that was with us carried to be burnt; and from head to foot, he was as black as your coat with the blows which they had given him."

I asked him, "What was their manner of life?" He said, "They do nothing but eat and drink and smoke, from morning till night, and in a manner from night till morning. For they rise at any hour of the night when they wake; and after eating and drinking as much as they can, go to sleep again." See *The Religion of Nature truly delineated!*

Saturday 23, Reflecting on the state I was now in, I could not but observe, in a letter to a friend, "How to attain to the being crucified with Christ, I find not, being in a condition I neither desired, nor expected in America, in ease and honour and abundance. A strange school for him who has but one business, Γυμναζειν εαυτον προς ευσεβειαν.*

Wednesday 27, I rejoiced to meet once more with that good soldier of Jesus Christ, August Spangenburg; with whom, on Monday, August 1, I began my long-intended journey to Ebenezer. In the way, I told him, "The calm we had so long enjoyed was now drawing to an end: That I hoped he would shortly see I was not, as some had told him, a respecter of persons; but was determined, God being my helper, to behave indifferently to all, rich or poor, friends or enemies." I then asked his advice as to the difficulty I foresaw, and resolved, by God's grace to follow it.

In the evening we came to New Ebenezer, where the poor Saltzburghers are settled. The industry of this people is quite surprising. Their sixty huts are neatly and regularly built; and all the little spots of ground between them, im-

* To exercise himself unto godliness.

proved to the best advantage. One side of the town is a field of Indian corn; on the other are the plantations of several private persons: all which together, one would scarce think it possible for a handful of people to have done in one year.

Wednesday 3, We returned to Savannah. Sunday 7, I repelled Mrs. Williamson from the Holy Communion. And Monday 8th, Mr. Recorder of Savannah, issued out the warrant following:

"GEORGIA. SAVANNAH. ss.

"*To all Constables, Tythingmen, and others whom These may concern:*

"You and each of you are hereby required, to take the body of John Wesley, Clerk:

"And bring him before one of the Bailiffs of the said town, to answer the complaint of William Williamson and Sophia his wife, for defaming the said Sophia, and refusing to administer to her the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in a publick congregation without cause; by which the said William Williamson is damaged one thousand pounds sterling. And for so doing, this is your warrant, certifying what you are to do in the premises. Given under my hand and seal, the 8th day of August, Anno Dom. 1737.

THO. CHRISTIE."

Tuesday 9, Mr. Jones the constable served the warrant, and carried me before Mr. Bailiff Parker and Mr. Recorder. My answer to them was, That "The giving or refusing the Lord's Supper, being a matter purely ecclesiastical, I could not acknowledge their power to interrogate me upon it." Mr. Parker told me, "However, you must appear at the next court holden for Savannah." Mr. Williamson (who stood by) said, "Gentlemen, I desire Mr. Wesley may give bail for his appearance." But Mr. Parker immediately replied, "Sir, Mr. Wesley's word is sufficient."

Wednesday, 10, Mr. Causton (from a just regard, as his letter expressed it, to the friendship which had subsisted between us, till this affair) required me to give the reasons in the Court-house, why I repelled Mrs. Williamson from the Holy Communion? I answered, "I apprehend many ill consequences may arise from so doing. Let the cause be laid before the Trustees."

Thursday 11, Mr. Causton came to my house, and among many other sharp words, said, "Make an end of this matter, thou hadst best. My niece to be used thus! I have drawn the sword, and I will never sheath it, till I have satisfaction."

Soon after he added, "Give the reasons of your repelling her, before the whole congregation." I answered, "Sir, if you insist upon it, I will; and so you may be pleased to tell her." He said, "Write to her, and tell her so yourself." I said, I will; and after he went, I wrote as follows:

"TO MRS. SOPHIA WILLIAMSON.

"At Mr. Causton's request, I write once more. The rules whereby I proceed are these:

"So many as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion, shall signify their names to the Curate, at least, some time the day before. This you did not do.

"And if any of these — have done any wrong to his neighbour by word or deed, so that the congregation be thereby offended, the Curate —— shall advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's Table, until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented.

"If you offer yourself at the Lord's Table on Sunday, I will advertise you, as I have done more than once, wherein you have done wrong. And when you have openly declared yourself to have truly repented, I will administer to you the mysteries of God.

August 11, 1737. JOHN WESLEY."

Mr. Delamotte carrying this, Mr. Causton said, among many other warm sayings, "I am the person that am in-

jured. The affront is offered to me; and I will espouse the cause of my niece. I am ill used; and I will have satisfaction, if it be to be had in the world."

Which way this satisfaction was to be had, I did not yet conceive. But on Friday and Saturday it began to appear; Mr. Causton declaring to many persons, That Mr. Wesley had repelled Sophy from the Holy Communion, purely out of revenge; because he had made proposals of marriage to her, which she rejected, and married Mr. Williamson.

I was only afraid, lest those who were weak, should be turned out of the way; at least, so far as to forsake the publick assembling of themselves together. But I feared where no fear was. God took care of this also. So that on Sunday 14, more were present at the morning prayers, than had been for some months before. Many of them observed those words in the first lesson, "Set Naboth on high among the people; and set two men, sons of Belial, before him, to bear witness against him."

Tuesday 16, Mrs. Williamson swore to and signed an affidavit, insinuating much more than it asserted: But asserting, "That Mr. Wesley had many times proposed marriage to her, all which proposals she had rejected." Of this I desired a copy: Mr. Causton replied, "Sir, you may have one from any of the newspapers in America."

On Thursday or Friday was delivered out a list of twenty-six men, who were to meet as a grand jury, on Monday the 22d. But this list was called in the next day, and twenty-four names added to it. Of this grand jury (forty-four of whom only met), one was a Frenchman, who did not understand English, one a papist, one a profest infidel, three baptists, sixteen or seventeen others dissenters, and several others who had personal quarrels against me, and had openly vowed revenge.

To this grand jury, on Monday the 22d, Mr. Causton gave a long and earnest charge, to beware of spiritual tyranny, and to oppose the new, illegal authority which was usurped over their consciences. Then Mrs. Williamson's

affidavit was read: after which, Mr. Causton delivered to the grand jury, a paper intitled—

"*A List of Grievances, presented by the Grand Jury for Savannah, this day of August, 1737.*"

This the majority of the grand jury altered in some particulars, and on Thursday, September 1, delivered it again to the court, under the form of two presentments, containing ten bills, which were then read to the people.

Herein they asserted, upon oath, "That John Wesley, Clerk, had broken the Laws of the Realm, contrary to the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King his Crown and Dignity.

"1. By speaking and writing to Mrs. Williamson, against her husband's consent:

2. By repelling her from the Holy Communion:

3. By not declaring his adherence to the Church of England:

4. By dividing the morning service on Sundays:

5. By refusing to baptize Mr. Parker's child otherwise than by dipping, except the parents would certify it was weak, and not able to bear it:

6. By repelling William Gough from the Holy Communion:

7. By refusing to read the burial-service over the body of Nathaniel Polhill:

8. By calling himself Ordinary of Savannah:

9. By refusing to receive William Aglionby as a godfather, only because he was not a communicant:

10. By refusing Jacob Matthews for the same reason; and baptizing an Indian trader's child with only two sponsors." (This, I own, was wrong; for I ought, at all hazards, to have refused baptizing it till he had procured a third.)

Friday 2, Was the third court, at which I appeared, since my being carried before Mr. P. and the Recorder.

I now moved for an immediate hearing on the first bill, being the only one of a civil nature; but it was refused. I

made the same motion in the afternoon; but was put off till the next court day.

On the next court day I appeared again; as also at the two courts following; but could not be heard, *because*, the judge said, Mr. Williamson *was gone out of town*.

The sense of the minority of the grand jurors themselves, for they were by no means unanimous, concerning these presentments, may appear from the following paper, which they transmitted to the Trustees:

"TO THE HONOURABLE THE TRUSTEES FOR GEORGIA.

"Whereas two Presentments have been made, the one of August 23, the other of August 31, by the Grand Jury for the Town and County of Savannah in Georgia, against John Wesley, Clerk;

"We whose names are underwritten, being members of the said Grand Jury, do humbly beg leave to signify our dislike of the said Presentments; being by many and divers circumstances thoroughly persuaded in ourselves, that the whole charge against Mr. Wesley, is an artifice of Mr. Causton, designed rather to blacken the character of Mr. Wesley, than to free the Colony from religious tyranny, as he was pleased in his charge to us to term it. But as these circumstances will be too tedious to trouble your Honours with, we shall only beg leave to give the reasons of our dissent from the particular bills.

"With regard to the first bill, we do not apprehend that Mr. Wesley acted against any law, by writing or speaking to Mrs. Williamson, since it does not appear to us, that the said Mr. Wesley has either spoke in private, or wrote to, the said Mrs. Williamson, since March 12, [the day of her marriage], except one letter of July the 5th, which he wrote at the request of her uncle, as a pastor, to exhort and reprove her.

"The second we do not apprehend to be a true Bill, because we humbly conceive Mr. Wesley did not assume to himself any authority contrary to law: for we understand, *Every person intending to communicate, should 'signify his*

name to the Curate, at least some time the day before,' which Mrs. Williamson did not do, although Mr. Wesley had often in full congregation, declared, he did insist on a compliance with that Rubrick, and *had before repelled divers persons for non-compliance therewith.*

"The third we do not think a true bill, because several of us have been his hearers, when he has declared his adherence to the Church of England, in a stronger manner than by a formal declaration; by explaining and defending the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds, the Thirty-nine Articles, the whole book of Common Prayers, and the Homilies of the said church: and because we think a formal declaration is not required, but from those who have received institution and induction.

"The fact alleged in the fourth bill we cannot apprehend to be contrary to any law in being.

"The fifth we do not think a true bill, because we conceive Mr. Wesley is justified by the Rubrick, viz. '*If they* (the parents) *certify that the child is weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it.*' Intimating, as we humbly suppose, it shall not suffice, if they do not certify.

"The sixth cannot be a true bill, because the said William Gough, being one of our members, was surprised to hear himself named, without his knowledge or privity; and did publicly declare, *It was no grievance to him, because the said* JOHN WESLEY *had given him reasons with which he was satisfied.*'

"The seventh we do not apprehend to be a true bill, for Nathaniel Polhill was an Anabaptist, and desired in his life-time, that he might not be interred with the office of the Church of England. And farther, we have good reason to believe, that Mr. Wesley was at Frederica, or on his return thence, when Polhill was buried.

"As to the eighth bill we are in doubt, as not well knowing the meaning of the word *Ordinary*. But for the ninth and tenth, we think Mr. Wesley is sufficiently justified by the Canons of the Church; which forbid *any person to be admitted Godfather or Godmother to any child, before the*

said person has received the holy communion; whereas William Aglionby and Jacob Matthews, had never certified Mr. Wesley, that they had received it."

This was signed by twelve of the grand Jurors, of whom three were constables, and six more, Tything-men: who, consequently, would have made a majority, had the Jury consisted, as it regularly should have done, of only fifteen members, viz. the four constables and eleven Tything-men.

Friday, Sept. 30, Having ended the Homilies, I began reading Dr. Rogers's eight Sermons to the congregation: hoping they might be a timely antidote against the poison of infidelity, which was now, with great industry, propagated among us.

Oct. 7, I consulted my friends, whether God did not call me to return to England? The reason for which I left it had now no force; there being no possibility as yet of instructing the Indians: neither had I as yet found or heard of any Indians on the continent of America, who had the least desire of being instructed. And as to Savannah, having never engaged myself, either by word or letter, to stay there a day longer than I should judge convenient, nor ever take charge of the people any otherwise, than as in my passage to the heathen, I looked upon myself to be fully discharged therefrom, by the vacating of that design. Besides, there was a probability of doing more service to that unhappy people, in England, than I could do in Georgia, by representing, without fear or favour, to the Trustees, the real state the Colony was in. After deeply considering these things, they were unanimous, *That I ought to go. But not yet.* So I laid the thoughts of it aside for the present: being persuaded, that when the time was come, God would *make the way plain before my face.*

Saturday, Oct. 15, Being at Highgate, a village five miles from Savannah, consisting of (all but one) French families, who, I found, knew but little of the English tongue, I offered to read prayers there in French, every Saturday in the afternoon. They embraced the offer gladly. On Saturday the 22d, I read prayers in German likewise,

to the German villagers of Hampstead: and so continued to do, once a week. We began the service (both at Highgate and Hampstead) with singing a psalm. Then I read and explained a chapter in the French or German Testament, and concluded with prayers and another psalm.

Saturday, Oct. 29, Some of the French of Savannah were present at the prayers at Highgate. The next day I received a message from them all, "That as I read prayers to the French of Highgate, who were but few, they hoped I would do the same to those of Savannah, where there was a large number who did not understand English." Sunday 30, I began so to do: and now I had full employment for that Holy Day. The first English prayers lasted from five till half an hour past six. The Italian (which I read to a few Vaudois) began at nine. The second service for the English (including the sermon and the holy communion) continued from half an hour past ten, till about half an hour past twelve. The French service began at one. At two I catechised the children. About three began the English service. After this was ended, I had the happiness of joining with as many as my largest room would hold, in reading, praying, and singing praise. And about six the service of the Moravians began: at which I was glad to be present, not as a Teacher, but a Learner.

Thursday, Nov. 3, I appeared again at the Court holden on that day: and again, at the Court held, Tuesday, Nov. 22: on which day Mr. Causton desired to speak with me. He then read me some affidavits which had been made, September 15, last past: in one of which it was affirmed, "That I then abused Mr. Causton in his own house, calling him liar, villain, and so on." It was now, likewise, repeated before several persons, (which indeed I had forgot) "That I had been reprimanded at the last Court, for being an enemy to, and hinderer of the public peace."

I again consulted my friends, who agreed with me, that the time we looked for was now come. And the next morning calling on Mr. Causton, I told him, "I designed to set out for England immediately." I set up an advertise-

ment in the Great Square to the same effect and quietly prepared for my journey.

Friday, Dec. 2, I proposed to set out for Carolina about noon, the tide then serving. But about ten the magistrates sent for me, and told me, "I must not go out of the province; for I had not answered the allegations laid against me." I replied, *I have appeared at six or seven Courts successively, in order to answer them. But I was not suffered so to do, when I desired it time after time.* Then they said, "However, I must not go, unless I would give security to answer those allegations at their court." I asked, *What security?* After consulting together about two hours, the Recorder shewed me a kind of bond, engaging me, under a penalty of fifty pounds, to appear at their court when I should be required. He added, "But Mr. Williamson too has desired of us, that you should give bail to answer his action." I then told him plainly, *Sir, you use me very ill, and so you do the Trustees. I will give neither any Bond, nor any Bail at all. You know your business, and I know mine.*

In the afternoon the Magistrates published an order requiring all the officers and centinels, to prevent my going out of the province; and forbidding any person to assist me so to do. Being now only a prisoner at large, in a place where I knew by experience, every day would give fresh opportunity to procure evidence of words I never said, and actions I never did; I saw clearly the hour was come for leaving this place: and, soon as evening prayers were over, about eight o'clock, the tide then serving, I shook off the dust of my feet, and left Georgia, after having preached the Gospel there, not as I ought, but as I was able, one year, and nearly nine months. During this time I had frequent opportunities of making many observations and enquiries, concerning the real state of this province, (which has been so variously represented), the English settlements therein, and the Indians that have intercourse with them. These I minuted down from time to time; a small extract of which I have subjoined.

1. Georgia lies in the 30 and 31st degrees of north latitude. The air is generally clear, the rains being much shorter, as well as heavier than in England. The dews are very great, thunder and lightning are expected almost every day, in May, June, July, and August. They are very terrible, especially to a stranger. During those months, from ten in the morning to four in the afternoon, the sun is extremely scorching. But the sea-breeze generally blows, from ten till three or four. The winter is nearly of the same length as in England. But the mid-day sun is always warm, even when the mornings and evenings are very sharp, and the nights piercing cold.

2. The land is of four sorts, Pine-barren, Oakland, Swamp, and Marsh. The Pine-land is of far the greatest extent, especially near the sea-coasts. The soil of this, is a dry whitish sand, producing shrubs of several sorts, and between them a spiry coarse grass, which cattle do not love to feed on. But here and there is a little of a better kind, especially in the Savannahs, so they call the low, watry meadows, which are usually intermixt with Pine-lands. It bears naturally two sorts of fruit, Hurtle-berries, much like those in England, and chincopin-nuts; a dry, harsh nut, about the size of a small acorn. A laborious man may, in one year clear and plant four or five acres of this land. It will produce the first year, from two to four bushels of Indian corn, and from four to eight of Indian pease per acre. The second year it usually bears half as much; the third, less; the fourth, nothing.

3. Vines, mulberries, and peach-trees, it bears well. The white mulberry is not good to eat. The black is about the size of a blackberry, and has much the same flavour. In fresh pine-land, Indian potatoes grow well, which are more luscious and larger than the Irish. And so do water-melons and Sewee-beans, about the size of our scarlet, but to be shelled and eaten like Windsor beans.

4. Oak-land commonly lies in narrow streaks between Pine-land and some Swamp, Creek, or River. The soil is a blackish sand, producing several kinds of Oak, (though

none exactly like the English) Bay, Lawrel, Ash, Walnut, Sumac-trees, Gum-trees (a sort of Sycamore), Dog-trees covered in spring with large white flowers, and many Hickary-trees, which bear a bad kind of walnut. In the moistest part of this land some porsimmon-trees grow, which bear a sort of yellow, clear, luscious plum, and a few mulberry and cherry-trees. The common wild grapes are of two sorts, both red: The fox-grape grows two or three only on a stalk, is thick skinned, large stoned, of a harsh taste, and of the size of a small Kentish cherry. The cluster-grape is of a harsh taste too, and about the size of a white currant.

5. This land requires much labour to clear; but when it is cleared, it will bear any grain, for three, four, or sometimes five years, without laying any manure upon it. An acre of it generally bears ten bushels of Indian corn, besides five of pease in a year. So that this at present is justly esteemed the most valuable land in the province.

6. A Swamp is any low, watry place, which is covered with trees or canes. They are here of three sorts, Cypress, River, and Cane-swamps. Cypress-swamps are mostly large ponds, in and round which cypresses grow. Most river-swamps are overflown every tide by the river which runs through or near them. If they were drained, they would produce good rice; as would the cane-swamps also; which in the mean-time are the best feeding for all sorts of cattle.

7. The marshes are of two sorts: soft marsh, which is all a quagmire, and absolutely good for nothing: And hard marsh, which is a firm, but barren sand, bearing only sour rushes. Marshes of both sorts abound on the sea islands, which are very numerous, and contain all sorts of land. And upon these chiefly, near creeks and runs of water, juniper trees and cedars grow.

8. Savannah stands on a flat bluff, (so they term any high land hanging over a creek or river), which rises 45 feet perpendicular from the river, and commands it several miles both upward and downward. The soil is a white sand for above a mile in breadth, South East, and North

West. Beyond this, eastward, is a river swamp; westward a small wood, in which was the only Indian town. On the other side of the river is a marshy island, covered with large trees. South-west of the town is a large pine-barren, which extends backward to a branch of the Alatamahaw river.

9. St. Simon's island, having on the South-east the gulph of Florida; on the other sides, branches of the Alatamahaw, is about 100 miles south of Savannah, and extends in length about 20, in breadth from two to five miles. On the west side of it, on a low bluff, stands Frederica, having woods to the north and south; to the east, partly woods, partly Savannahs, and partly marshes. The soil is mostly a blackish sand. There is not much pine land on the island; the greatest part being oak land, intermixt with many Savannahs, and old Spanish or Indian fields.

10. On the sea point, about five miles South-east of the town, is the fort where the soldiers are stationed. But the store house in Frederica better deserves that name; being encompassed with regular ramparts of earth, and a palisaded ditch, and mounted with cannon, which entirely command the river.

11. About twenty miles North-west from St. Simon's is Darien, the settlement of the Scotch Highlanders, a mile from Fort King George, which was built about seventeen and abandoned about eleven years since. The town lies on the main land, close to a branch of the Alatamahaw, on a bluff, thirty feet above the river, having woods on all sides. The soil is a blackish sand. They built at first many scattered huts; but last spring, (1736) expecting the Spaniards, they built themselves a large fort, and all retired within the walls of it.

12. Augusta, distant from Savannah one hundred and fifty miles, and five from old Savannah town, is designed to stand in an old Indian field, on a bluff, about thirty feet high. A small fort of wooden piles was built there in 1737; but no house was then built, nor any more ground cleared, than Mr. Lacy and his men found so.

13. Old Ebenezer, where the Saltzburghers settled at first, lies twenty-five miles west of Savannah. A small creek runs by the town, down to the river, and many brooks run between the little hills: but the soil is a hungry, barren sand; and upon any sudden shower, the brooks rise several feet perpendicular, and overflow whatever is near them. Since the Saltzburghers removed, two English families have been placed there: But these too say, "That the land is good for nothing; and that the creek is of little use; it being by water twenty miles to the river; and the water generally so low in summer time, that a boat cannot come within six or seven miles of the town."

14. New Ebenezer, to which the Saltzburghers removed, in March 1736, lies six miles eastward from the Old, on a high bluff, near the Savannah river. Here are some tracts of fruitful land, though the greatest part of that adjoining to the town, is pine-barren. The huts, sixty in number, are neatly and regularly built; the little piece of ground allotted to each for a garden, is every where put to the best use, no spot being left unplanted. Nay, even one of the main streets, being one more than was as yet wanted, bore them this year a crop of Indian corn.

15. About ten miles east of this, on a creek, three miles from the river, was the village of Abercorn. Ten families settled here in 1733; but it is now without inhabitants. Four miles below the mouth of Abercorn-creek is Joseph's-town, the settlement of two Scotch gentlemen. A mile below was Sir Francis Bathurst's plantation; and a quarter of a mile from this, Walter Augustine's settlement. But both these are left without inhabitant.

16. A mile below this is Capt. William's plantation: a mile from thence, Mrs. Matthew's (late Musgrove), commonly known by the name of the Cowpen; adjoining to which is the land belonging to Capt. Watson, on which is an unfinished house, swiftly running to ruin. A mile from this is Irene, a house built for an Indian school, in the year 1736. It stands on a small round hill, in a little piece of

fruitful ground, given by the Indians to Mr. Ingham. The Indian town is within a furlong of it.

17. Five miles south-west of Savannah, on a small rise, stands the village of Highgate. It has pine-land on three sides, and a swamp on the fourth. Twelve families were placed here in 1733; nine whereof remain there. A mile eastward of this is Hampstead, settled with twelve families also, a little before Highgate; five of which are still remaining.

18. Six miles south-east of Savannah is Thunderbolt. Three families are settled here, near a small, ruinous fort; four miles south of this, is the island of Skidoway; on the north-east point whereof ten families were placed in 1733-4; a small fort was built here likewise, but nine of them are either dead, or removed to other places. A small creek divides Skidoway from Tybee island, on the south-east part of which, fronting the inlet, the light-house is built. Ten families were settled here in 1734; but they are part dead, and part removed, so that the island is now again without any fixt inhabitant.

19. Twelve miles southward from Savannah by land, is Mr. Houstoun's plantation; and forty or fifty miles from him, up Ogeechy river, that where Mr. Sterling for some time lived. Fort Argyle stands twenty miles from this, on a high bluff, by the river Ogeechy. 'Tis a small square wooden fort, musket-proof. Ten freeholders were settled near it; but eight of them are gone, and the land they had cleared lying waste, will in a few years be as it was before.

20. The southermost settlement in Georgia, is Fort St. Andrews; it stands fifty miles south of Frederica, on the south-west side of Cumberland island, upon a high neck of land, which commands the river both ways. The walls are of wood, filled up with earth, round which are a ditch and palisade.

21. It is hard to pick out any consistent account of the Georgian Indians, from the contradictory relations of their traders. The following is extracted, partly from those

wherein all or the generality of them agree, partly from the relations of such as have been occasionally amongst them, and have no interest in making them better or worse than they are.

22. Of the Georgian Indians in general it may be observed, That they are not so properly nations, as tribes or clans, who have wandered thither at different times; perhaps expelled their native countries by stronger tribes; but how or when they cannot tell, being none of them able to give any rational account of themselves. They are inured to hardships of all kinds, and surprisingly patient of pain. But as they have no letters, so they have no religion, no laws, no civil government. Nor have they any kings or princes, properly speaking; their Meeko's or Head-men, having no power either to command or punish, no man obeying them any farther than he pleases. So that every one doth what is right in his own eyes; and if it appear wrong to his neighbour, the person aggrieved usually steals on the other unawares, and shoots him, scalps him, or cuts off his ears: having only two short rules of proceeding, to do what he will, and what he can.

23. They are likewise all, except, perhaps, the Choctaws, gluttons, drunkards, thieves, dissemblers, liars. They are implacable, unmerciful, murderers of fathers, murderers of mothers, murderers of their own children: It being a common thing for a son to shoot his father or mother, because they are old and past labour; and for a woman either to procure abortion, or to throw her child into the next river, because she will go with her husband to the war. Indeed husbands, strictly speaking, they have none; for any man leaves his wife, so called, at pleasure, who frequently, in return, cuts the throats of all the children she has had by him. Whoredom they account no crime, and few instances appear of a young Indian woman's refusing any one. Nor have they any fixt punishment for adultery; only, if the husband take his wife with another man, he will do what he can to both, unless speedily pacified by the present of a gun or a blanket.

24. The Choctaws only have some appearance of an entire nation, possessing a large extent of land, eight or nine hundred miles west of Savannah, and many well inhabited towns. They are said to have six thousand fighting men, united under one head. At present they are in league with the French, who have sent some priests among them; by whom, if one may credit the Choctaw traders, ten or twelve have been baptized.

25. Next to these, to the north-east, are the Chicasaws. Their country is flat, full of meadows, springs, and rivers. In their fields, though six or seven hundred miles from the sea, are found sea-shells in great numbers. They have about nine hundred fighting men, ten towns, and one Meeko, at least, in every one. They are eminently gluttons, eating, drinking, and smoking all day, and almost all night. They are extremely indolent and lazy, except in war; then they are the most indefatigable, and the most valiant of all the Indians: but they are equally cruel with the rest, torturing and burning all their prisoners, whether Indian or European.

26. East of them, in the latitude of 35 and 36, about three or four hundred miles from Savannah, lie the Cherikees. Their country is very mountainous, fruitful, and pleasant. They have fifty-two towns, and above three thousand fighting men. In each town are three or more head-men, who keep up a sort of shadow of government, having power to set the rest to work, and to punish such as will not join in the common labour. They are civil to strangers, and will do any thing for them for pay; being always willing, for a small piece of money, to carry a message for fifty or sixty miles, and, if required, a heavy burden too: but they are equally cruel to prisoners with the Chicasaws, though not equally valiant. They are seldom intemperate in drinking, but when they can be so on free cost. Otherwise, love of drink yields to covetousness; a vice scarcely to be found in any Indian but a Chirikee.

27. The Uchees have only one small town left, near two hundred miles from Savannah, and about forty fighting

men. The Creeks have been many times on the point of cutting them off. They are indeed hated by most, and despised by all the other nations, as well for their cowardice, as their superlative diligence in thieving, and for out-lying all the Indians upon the continent.

28. The Creek Indians are about 400 miles from Savannah. They are said to be bounded on the west by the Choctaws, to the north by the Chicasaws, to the east by the Cherikees, and to the south by the Alatamahaw river. They have many towns, a plain well-watered country, and fifteen hundred fighting men. They have often three or four Meeko's in a town; but without so much as the shaddow of authority, only to give advice, which every one is at liberty to take or leave. But age and reputation for valour and wisdom, have given Chicali, a Meeko of the Coweta-town, a more than ordinary influence over the nation; though not even the show of regal power. Yet neither age, wisdom, nor reputation, can restrain him from drunkenness. Indeed all the Creeks, having been most conversant with white men, are most infected with an insatiate love of drink, as well as other European vices. They are more exquisite dissemblers than the rest of their countrymen. They know not what friendship or gratitude means. They shew no inclination to learn any thing; but least of all Christianity: being full as opiniated of their own parts and wisdom, as either modern Chinese or antient Romans.

Saturday, Dec. 3, We came to Purrysburg early in the morning, and endeavoured to procure a guide for Port-royal. But none being to be had, we set out without one an hour before sun-rise. After walking two or three hours, we met with an old man, who led us into a small path, near which was a line of blazed trees (*i. e.* marked by cutting off part of the bark), by following which, he said, we might easily come to Port-Royal in five or six hours.

We were four in all; one of whom intended to go for England with me; the other two to settle in Carolina. About eleven we came into a large swamp, where we wan-

dered about till near two. We then found another blaze, and pursued it till it divided into two; one of these we followed through an almost impassable thicket, a mile beyond which it ended. We made through the thicket again, and traced the other blaze till that ended too. It now grew toward sun-set, so we sat down, faint and weary, having had no food all day, except a gingerbread cake, which I had taken in my pocket; a third of this we had divided among us at noon; another third we took now; the rest we reserved for the morning; but we had met with no water all the day. Thrusting a stick into the ground, and finding the end of it moist, two of our company fell a digging with their hands, and at about three feet depth found water. We thanked God, drank, and were refreshed. The night was sharp; however there was no complaining among us; but after having commended ourselves to God, we lay down close together, and, I at least, slept till near six in the morning.

Sunday 4, God renewing our strength, we arose neither faint nor weary, and resolved to make one trial more, to find a path to Port-Royal. We steered due east; but finding neither path nor blaze, and the woods growing thicker and thicker, we judged it would be our best course to return, if we could, by the way we came. The day before, in the thickest part of the woods, I had broke many young trees, I knew not why, as we walked along; these we found a great help in several places where no path was to be seen; and between one and two God brought us safe to Benjamin Arien's house, the old man we left the day before.

In the evening I read French prayers to a numerous family, a mile from Arien's; one of whom undertook to guide us to Port-Royal. In the morning we set out. About sun-set, we asked our guide if he knew where he was? who frankly answered, No. However, we pushed on till about seven we came to a plantation; and the next evening, after many difficulties and delays, we landed on Port-Royal island.

Wednesday 7, We walked to Beaufort; where Mr. Jones, the minister of Beaufort, with whom I lodged during my

short stay here, gave me a lively idea of the old English hospitality. On Thursday Mr. Delamotte came; with whom, on Friday 9, I took boat for Charles-Town. After a slow passage, by reason of contrary winds, and some conflict, our provisions falling short, with hunger as well as cold, we came thither early in the morning, on Tuesday the 13th. Here I expected trials of a different kind, and far more dangerous. For contempt and want are easy to be borne; but who can bear respect and abundance?

Wednesday 14, Being desired to read public prayers, I was much refreshed with those glorious promises, contained both in the 72d Psalm, and in the first Lesson, the 40th chapter of Isaiah: Yea, *they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, and mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary; they shall walk and not faint.*

In the afternoon, visiting a dying man, we found him still full of the freshest advices, and busy in settling the affairs of the Czarina, Prince Thames, and the Ottoman Port. How natural then is the thought

——————— Quæ cura nitentes
Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos?

For if a soul quivering on the verge of life, has still leisure for these impertinencies, one might almost believe the same dreams would continue, even in the sleep of death!

Friday 16, I parted from the last of those friends, who came with me into America, Mr. Charles Delamotte, from whom I had been but a few days separate, since Oct. 14, 1735.

Sunday 18, I was seized with a violent flux, which I felt came not before I wanted it. Yet I had strength enough given to preach once more to this careless people: and a few *believed our report.*

Thursday 22*, I took my leave of America, though, if it

* "In the beginning of the following May Mr. Whitefield arrived at Savannah, where he found some serious persons, the fruits of Mr. Wesley's ministry, glad to receive him. He had now an opportunity of enquiring

please God, not for ever, going on board the Samuel, Captain Piercy, with a young gentleman who had been a few months in Carolina, one of my parishioners of Savannah, and a Frenchman, late of Purrysburg, who had escaped thence with the skin of his teeth.

Saturday 24, We sailed over Charles-town bar, and about noon, lost sight of land.

The next day the wind was fair, but high: as it was on Sunday 25, when the sea affected me more than it had done in the sixteen weeks of our passage to America. I was obliged to lie down the greatest part of the day, being easy only in that posture.

Monday 26, I began instructing a Negro lad in the principles of Christianity. The next day I resolved to break off living delicately, and return to my old simplicity of diet; and after I did so, neither my stomach nor my head much complained of the motion of the ship.

Wednesday 28, Finding the unaccountable apprehensions of I know not what danger, (the wind being small, and the sea smooth) which had been upon me several days, increase; I cried earnestly for help; and it pleased God as in a moment to restore peace to my soul.

Let me observe hereon, 1. That not one of these hours ought to pass out of my remembrance, till I attain another manner of spirit; a spirit equally willing to glorify God by life or by death. 2. That whoever is uneasy on any account (bodily pain alone excepted) carries in himself his

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upon the spot, into the circumstances of the late disputes, and bears testimony to the ill usage Mr. Wesley had received; but adds, he thought it most prudent not to repeat grievances. (See Robert's Narrative of the Life of Mr. George Whitefield, page 56) When he was at Charles-Town, Mr. Garden acquainted him with the ill treatment Mr. Wesley had met with, and assured him, that were the same arbitrary proceedings to commence against him, he would defend him with life and fortune. These testimonies of persons so respectable, and capable of knowing all the circumstances of the affair, coincide with the statement above given, and with candid persons must do away all suspicions with regard to the integrity of Mr. Wesley's conduct." *Whitehead's Life of Wesley.*

own conviction, That he is so far an unbeliever. Is he uneasy at the apprehension of death? Then he believeth not, That *to die is gain.* At any of the events of life? Then he hath not a firm belief, That *all things work together for* his *good.* And if he bring the matter more close, he will always find, beside the general want of faith, every particular uneasiness is evidently owing to the want of some particular Christian temper.

Sunday, Jan. 1, 1738, All in the ship, except the captain and steersman, were present both at the morning and evening service, and appeared as deeply attentive, as even the poor people of Frederica did, while the word of God was new to their ears. And it may be, one or two among these likewise, may *bring forth fruit with patience.*

Monday 2, Being sorrowful and very heavy, (though I could give no particular reason for it) and utterly unwilling to speak closely to any of my little flock, (about 20 persons) I was in doubt, whether my neglect of them was not one cause of my own heaviness. In the evening therefore, I begun instructing the cabin boy; after which I was much easier.

I went several times the following days, with a design to speak to the sailors, but could not. I mean, I was quite averse from speaking; I could not see how to make an occasion, and it seemed quite absurd to speak without one. Is not this what men commonly mean by, "I could not speak?" And is this a sufficient cause of silence, or not? Is it a prohibition from the good Spirit? or a temptation from nature or the evil one? Friday 6, I ended the abridgment of Mr. de Renty's Life. O that such a life should be related by such a historian! Who by inserting all, if not more than all the weak things that holy man ever said or did; by his commendation of almost every action or word which either deserved or needed it not; and by his injudicious manner of relating many others, which were indeed highly commendable; has cast the shade of superstition and folly over one of the brightest patterns of heavenly wisdom.

Saturday 7, I began to read and explain some passages of the Bible to the young Negro. The next morning, another Negro who was on board, desired to be a hearer too. From them I went to the poor Frenchman, who understanding no English, had none else in the ship with whom he could converse. And from this time, I read and explained to him a chapter in the Testament every morning.

Sunday 8, In the fulness of my heart, I wrote the following words:

"By the most infallible of proofs, inward feeling, I am convinced

1. "Of unbelief, having no such faith in Christ, as will prevent my heart from being troubled; which it could not be, if I believed in God, and rightly believed also in Him:

2. "Of pride, throughout my life past, inasmuch as I thought I had, what I find I have not:

3. "Of gross irrecollection, inasmuch as in a storm I cry to God every moment; in a calm, not.

4. "Of levity and luxuriancy of spirit, recurring whenever the pressure is taken off, and appearing by my speaking words not tending to edify; but most, by my manner of speaking of my enemies."

"Lord, save, or I perish! Save me

1. "By such a faith as implies peace in life and in death."

2. "By such humility, as may fill my heart from this hour for ever, with a piercing uninterrupted sense, * *Nihil est quod hactenus feci*, having evidently built without a foundation."

3. "By such a recollection as may cry to thee every moment, especially when all is calm; give me faith or I die; give me a lowly spirit; otherwise † *Mihi non sit suave vivere.*"

4. By steadiness, seriousness, Σεμνοτης, sobriety of spirit, avoiding as fire every word that tendeth not to edifying, and

* I have done nothing hitherto. † Let life be a burden to me.

never speaking of any who oppose me, or sin against God, without all my own sins set in array before my face."

This morning, after explaining those words of St. Paul, "I beseech you brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God," I exhorted my fellow-travellers with all my might, to comply with the apostle's direction. But *leaving them afterwards to themselves*, the seriousness they shewed at first soon vanished away.

On Monday 9, and the following days, I reflected much on that vain desire which had pursued me for so many years of being in solitude, in order to be a Christian. I have now, thought I, solitude enough; but am I therefore the nearer being a Christian? Not if Jesus Christ be the model of Christianity. I doubt indeed I am much nearer that mystery of Satan which some writers affect to call by that name. So near, that I had probably sunk wholly into it, had not the great mercy of God just now thrown me upon reading St. Cyprian's Works. "O my soul, come not thou into their secret! Stand thou in the good old paths."

Friday 13, We had a thorough storm, which obliged us to shut all close, the sea breaking over the ship continually. I was at first afraid; but cried to God and was strengthened. Before ten I lay down, I bless God, without fear. About midnight we were awaked by a confused noise, of seas, and wind, and men's voices, the like to which I had never heard before. The sound of the sea breaking over and against the sides of the ship, I could compare to nothing but large cannon, or American thunder. The rebounding, starting, quivering motion of the ship, much resembled what is said of earthquakes, the captain was upon deck in an instant. But his men could not hear what he said. It blew a proper hurricane; which beginning at South-west, then went west, North-west, North, and in a quarter of an hour, round by the east to the South-west point again. At the same time the sea running (as they term it) mountain high, and that from many different points at once, the ship would not obey the helm; nor indeed could the steersman, through

the violent rain, see the compass. So he was forced to let her run before the wind, and in half an hour the stress of the storm was over.

About noon the next day it ceased. But first I had resolved, God being my helper, not only to preach to all, but to apply the word of God to every single soul in the ship: and if but one, yea if not one of them will hear, I know *my labour is not in vain.*

I no sooner executed this resolution, than my spirit revived; so that from this day I had no more of that fearfulness and heaviness, which before almost continually weighed me down. I am sensible one who thinks the being *in Orco*, as they phrase it, an indispensable preparative for being a Christian, would say, I had better have continued in that state; and that this unseasonable relief was a curse, not a blessing. Nay, but who art thou, O man, who in favour of a wretched hypothesis, thus blasphemest the good gift of God? Hath not he himself said, "This also is the gift of God, if a man have power to rejoice in his labour?" Yea, God setteth his own seal to his weak endeavours, while he thus "answereth him in the joy of his heart."

Tuesday 24, We spoke with two ships, outward bound, from whom we had the welcome news, of our wanting but 160 leagues of the land's end. My mind was now full of thought; part of which I writ down as follows:

"I went to America, to convert the Indians: but, oh! Who shall convert me! Who, what is he that will deliver me from this evil heart of unbelief? I have a fair summer-religion. I can talk well; nay, and believe myself, while no danger is near: But let death look me in the face, and my spirit is troubled. Nor can I say, *To die is gain!*

> "I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
> My last thread, I shall perish on the shore!"

"I think, verily, if the Gospel be true, I am safe: for I not only have given, and do give all my goods to feed the poor; I not only give my body to be burned, drowned, or whatever God shall appoint for me; but I follow after

charity (though not as I ought, yet as I can) if haply I may attain it. I *now* believe the Gospel is true. *I shew my faith by my works*, by staking my all upon it. I would do so again and again a thousand times, if the choice were still to make: whoever sees me, sees I *would* be a Christian. Therefore *are my ways not like other men's ways*. Therefore I have been, I am, I am content to be, *a by-word, a proverb of reproach*. But in a storm I think, "What if the Gospel be not true? Then thou art of all men most foolish. For what hast thou given thy goods, thy ease, thy friends, thy reputation, thy country, thy life? For what art thou wandering over the face of the earth? A dream, *a cunningly devised fable?* O who will deliver me from this fear death! What shall I do? Where shall I flee from it! Should I fight against it by thinking, or by not thinking of it? A wise man advised me some time since, "Be still and go on." Perhaps this is best. To look upon it as my cross: when it comes, to let it humble me, and quicken all my good resolutions, especially that of praying without ceasing; and at other times to take no thought about it, but quietly to go on *in the work of the Lord.*"

We went on with a small, fair wind, till Thursday in the afternoon, and then sounding, found a whitish sand at 75 fathom: But having had no observation for several days, the captain began to be uneasy, fearing we might either get unawares into the Bristol channel, or strike in the night on the rocks of Scilly.

Saturday 28, Was another cloudy day: but about ten in the morning (the wind continued southerly) the clouds began to fly just contrary to the wind, and to the surprize of us all sunk down under the sun, so that at noon we had an exact observation; and by this we found we were as well as we could desire, about eleven leagues south of Scilly.

Sunday 29, We saw English land once more, which about noon appeared to be the Lizard Point. We ran by it with a fair wind, and at noon the next day, made the west end of the Isle of Wight.

Here the wind turned against us, and in the evening blew

fresh, so that we expected (the tide being likewise strong against us) to be driven some leagues backward in the night: but in the morning, to our great surprise, we saw Beachy Head just before us, and found we had gone forwards near forty miles.

Toward evening was a calm; but in the night a strong north wind brought us safe into the Downs; the day before, Mr. Whitefield had sailed out, neither of us then knowing any thing of the other. At four in the morning we took boat, and in half an hour landed at Deal: It being Wednesday, February 1, the Anniversary Festival in Georgia for Mr. Oglethorpe's landing there.

It is now two years and almost four months, since I left my native country, in order to teach the Georgian Indians, the nature of Christianity. But what have I learned myself in the mean time? Why (what I the least of all suspected) that I who went to America to convert others, was never myself converted to God. *I am not mad*, though I thus speak; but *I speak the words of truth and soberness*; if haply some of those who still *dream* may *awake*, and see, that as I am, so are they.——

Are they read in philosophy? So was I. In antient or modern *tongues*? So was I also. Are they versed in the *science* of *divinity*? I too have studied it many years. Can they talk fluently upon spiritual things? The very same could I do. Are they plenteous in *alms*? Behold, I gave all my goods to feed the poor. Do they give of their labour as well as their substance? I have laboured more abundantly than they all. Are they willing to *suffer* for their brethren? I have thrown up my friends, reputation, ease, country; I have put my life in my hand, wandering into strange lands; I have given my body to be devoured by the deep, parched up with heat, consumed by toil and weariness, or whatsoever God shall please to bring upon me. But does all this (be it more or less, it matters not) make me acceptable to God? Does all I ever did or can *know*, *say*, *give*, *do* or *suffer*, justify me in his sight? Yea, *or the constant use of all the means of grace*? (which ne-

vertheless is meet, right and our bounden duty) Or, that *I know nothing of myself*, that I am as touching outward, moral righteousness blameless? Or, (to come closer yet) the having a *rational conviction* of all the truths of Christianity? Does all this give me a claim to the holy, heavenly, divine character of a *Christian*? By no means. If the oracles of God are true, if we are still to abide by *the law and testimony*; all these things, though when ennobled by faith in Christ, they are holy, and just, and good, yet without it are *dung and dross*.

This then have I learned in the ends of the earth, that I am *fallen short of the glory of* God; that my whole heart is *altogether corrupt and abominable*, and consequently my whole life, (seeing it cannot be, that *an evil tree* should *bring forth good fruit*:) That my own works, my own sufferings, my own righteousness, are so far from reconciling me to an offended God, so far from making any atonement for the least of those sins, (which *are more in number than the hairs of my head*,) that the most specious of them need an atonement themselves, or they cannot abide his righteous judgment: That *having the sentence of death* in my heart, and having nothing *in* or *of* myself to plead, I have no hope but that of being justified freely *through the redemption that is in Jesus*: I have no hope but that if I seek I shall find Christ, and "be found in him, not having my own righteousness, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith."

If it be said, that I have faith (for many such things have I heard from many miserable comforters), I answer, so have the devils,—*a sort* of faith; but still they are strangers to the covenant of promise. So the apostles had even at Cana in Galilee, when Jesus first *manifested forth his glory*; even then they, in a sort *believed on him*; but they had not then *the faith that overcometh the world*. The faith I want is, "A sure trust and confidence in God, that through the merits of Christ, my sins are forgiven, and I reconciled to the favour of God." I want that faith which St. Paul recommends to all the world, especially in his epistle to the Ro-

mans: that faith which enables every one that hath it to cry out, "I live not; but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." I want that faith which none can have without knowing that he hath it, though many *imagine* they have it, who have it not. For whosoever hath it, is *freed from sin, the whole body of sin is destroyed* in him; he is freed from fear, *having peace with God through Christ, and rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.* And he is freed from doubt, "having the love of God shed abroad in his heart, through the Holy Ghost which is given unto him; which Spirit itself beareth witness with his spirit, that he is a child of God."

AN

EXTRACT

OF THE

REV. JOHN WESLEY'S

JOURNAL,

No. II.

FROM FEBRUARY 1, 1738, TO HIS RETURN FROM GERMANY.

FOR THIS CAUSE I OBTAINED MERCY, THAT IN ME FIRST JESUS CHRIST MIGHT SHEW FORTH ALL LONG-SUFFERING, FOR A PATTERN TO THEM WHICH SHOULD HEREAFTER BELIEVE ON HIM TO LIFE EVERLASTING, 1 TIM. I. 16.

THE PREFACE.

1. *THAT men revile me and say all manner of evil against me, that I am become as it were a monster unto many, that the zealous of almost every denomination cry out, "Away with such a fellow from the earth:" This gives me with regard to myself, no degree of uneasiness. For I know the Scripture must be fulfilled: "If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household? But it does give me a concern, with regard to those who, by this artifice of the devil, are prevented from hearing that word which is able to save their souls.*

2. *For the sake of these, and indeed of all who desire to hear the truth of those things which have been so variously related, I have been induced to publish this farther account: and I doubt not but it will even hence appear to all candid and impartial judges, that I have "hitherto lived in all good conscience toward God."*

3. *I shall be easily excused by those who either love or seek the lord Jesus in sincerity, for speaking so largely of the Moravian Church, a city which ought to be set upon a hill. Their light hath been too long hid under a bushel: It is high time it should at length break forth, and so shine before men, that others also may glorify their Father which is in heaven.*

4. *If any should ask, "But do you think even this church is perfect, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing?" I answer plainly, "No; though I trust it will be when patience has had its perfect work." But neither do I think it right to entertain the world with the spots of God's children.*

5. *It has been farther asked, "Whether I imagine God is to be found only among them?" I reply, "By no means. I know there is a God in England, and we need not go to seek him in strange lands. I know that in our own he is very nigh unto all that call upon him: and therefore I think those unwise (to say no more) who run to inquire after him in Holland or Germany."*

6. *When I went, the case was widely different; God had not then made bare his arm before us as he hath now done. In a manner, I will be bold to say, which had not been known either in Holland or Germany, at that time when He who ordereth all things wisely, according to the counsels of his own will, was pleased by me to open the intercourse between the English and the Moravian Church.*

7. *The particular reason which obliged me to relate so much of the conversation I had with those holy men is this: —In September, 1738, when I returned from Germany, I exhorted all I could to follow after that great salvation, which is through faith in the blood of Christ; waiting for it in all the ordinances of God, and in doing good, as they had opportunity, to all men. And many found the beginning of that salvation, being justified freely, having peace with God through Christ, rejoicing in hope of the glory of God, and having his love shed abroad in their hearts.*

8. *But about September, 1739, while my brother and I were absent, certain men crept in among them unawares, greatly troubling and subverting their souls: telling them, "They were in a delusion; that they had deceived themselves, and had no true faith at all. For, said they, none has any justifying faith who has ever any doubt or fear, which you know you have, or who has not a clean heart, which you know you have not; nor will you ever have it till you leave off using the means of grace, so called, till you leave off running to church and sacrament, and praying and singing, and reading either the Bible or any other book. For you cannot use these things without trusting in them. Therefore, till you leave them off, you can never have true faith; you can never till then trust in the blood of Christ."*

9. *And this doctrine, from the beginning to this day, has been taught as the doctrine of the Moravian Church. I think, therefore, it is my bounden duty to clear the Moravians from this aspersion. And the more, because I am perhaps the only person now in England, that both can and will do it. And I believe it is by the peculiar providence of God that I can; that two years since, the most eminent members of that church should so fully declare both their experience and judgment, touching the very points now in question.*

10. *The sum of what has been asserted, as from them, is this:*

1. "*That a man* cannot have any degree *of justifying faith, till he is wholly freed from all doubt and fear, and till he has, in the full proper sense, a new, a clean heart.*"

2. "*That a man* may not use *the ordinances of God, the Lord's supper in particular, before he has such a faith as excludes all doubt and fear, and implies a new, a clean heart.*"

In flat opposition to this, I assert,

1. "*That a man* may have a degree *of justifying faith before he is wholly freed from all doubt and fear, and*

before he has, in the full, proper sense, a new, a clean heart."

2. *" That a man* may use *the ordinances of God, the Lord's supper in particular, before he has such a faith as excludes all doubt and fear, and implies a new, a clean heart."*

I farther assert, " This I learned (not only from the English, but also) from the Moravian Church."

And I hereby openly and earnestly call upon that Church, and upon Count Zinzendorf in particular, who, I trust, is not ashamed or afraid to avow any part of the Gospel of Christ, to correct me and explain themselves, if I have misunderstood or misrepresented them.

J. W.

LONDON, SEPT. 29, 1740.

JOURNAL.

No. II.

FROM FEBRUARY 1, 1738, TO SEPTEMBER 16, 1738.

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 1, After reading prayers, and explaining a portion of Scripture to a large company at the inn, I left Deal, and came in the evening to Faversham.

I here read prayers and explained the Second Lesson, to a few of those who were called Christians, but were indeed more savage in their behaviour than the wildest Indians I have yet met with.

Friday 3, I came to Mr. Delamotte's at Blendon, where I expected a cold reception. But God had prepared the way before me; and I no sooner mentioned my name than I was welcomed in such a manner as constrained me to say, "Surely God is in this place, and I knew it not! Blessed be ye of the Lord! Ye have shewn more kindness in the latter end than at the beginning."

In the evening I came once more to London, whence I had been absent two years and near four months.

Many reasons I have to bless God, though the design I went upon did not take effect, for my having been carried into that strange land, contrary to all my preceding resolutions. Hereby, I trust, he hath in some measure "humbled me and proved me, and shewn me what was in my heart." Hereby I have been taught to *beware of men*. Hereby I am come to know assuredly, that if *in all our ways we acknowledge God*, he will, where reason fails, *direct our paths*, by lot or by the other means which he knoweth.

Hereby I am delivered from the fear of the sea, which I had both dreaded and abhorred from my youth.

Hereby God has given me to know many of his servants, particularly those of the Church of Hernhuth. Hereby my passage is opened to the writings of holy men in the German, Spanish, and Italian tongues. I hope, too, some good may come to others hereby. All in Georgia have heard the word of God. Some have believed, and began to run well. A few steps have been taken towards publishing the glad tidings both to the African and American Heathens. Many children have learned *How they ought to serve God*, and to be useful to their neighbour. And those whom it most concerns have an opportunity of knowing the true state of their infant colony, and laying a firmer foundation of peace and happiness to many generations.

Saturday 4, I told my friends some of the reasons, which a little hastened my return to England. They all agreed, it would be proper to relate them to the Trustees of Georgia.

Accordingly the next morning I waited on Mr. Oglethorpe, but had no time to speak on that head. In the afternoon I was desired to preach at St. John the Evangelist's. I did so on those strong words, *If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature.* I was afterwards informed, "Many of the best of the parish were so offended, that I was not to preach there any more."

Monday 6, I visited many of my old friends, as well as most of my relations. I find the time is not yet come when I am to be *hated of all men.* O may I be prepared for that day!

Tuesday 7, (A day much to be remembered,) at the house of Mr. Weinantz, a Dutch merchant, I met Peter Bohler, Schulius Richter, and Wensel Neiser, just then landed from Germany. Finding they had no acquaintance in England, I offered to procure them a lodging, and did so near Mr. Hutton's, where I then was. And from this time I did not willingly lose any opportunity of conversing with them, while I stayed in London.

Wednesday 8, I went to Mr. Oglethorpe again, but had no opportunity of speaking as I designed. Afterwards I waited on the Board of Trustees, and gave them a short but plain account of the state of the Colony: an account, I fear, not a little differing from those, which they had frequently received before: and for which, I have reason to believe, some of them have not forgiven me to this day.

Sunday 12, I preached at St. Andrew's, Holborn, on, *Though I give all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing. O hard sayings! Who can hear them?* Here too, it seems, I am to preach no more.

Wed. 15, I waited on the Trustees again, and gave them in writing the substance of what I had said at the last Board. Whatsoever farther questions they asked concerning the state of the Province, I likewise answered to the best of my knowledge.

Friday 17, I set out for Oxford with Peter Bohler, where we were kindly received by Mr. Sarney, the only one now remaining here, of many who, at our embarking for America, were used to *take sweet counsel together*, and rejoice in *bearing the reproach of Christ*.

Sat. 18, We went to Stanton Harcourt, to Mr. Gambold, and found my old friend recovered from his *mystic* delusion, and convinced that St. Paul was a better writer than either Tauler or Jacob Behmen.—The next day I preached once more at the Castle, in Oxford, to a numerous and serious congregation.

All this time I conversed much with Peter Bohler, but I understood him not: and least of all when he said, *Mi frater, mi frater, excoquenda est ista tua Philosophia.* "My brother, my brother, that Philosophy of your's must be purged away."

Mon. 20, I returned to London. On Tuesday I preached at Great St. Helen's, on, *If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily and follow me.*

Wed. 22, I was with the Trustees again, to whom I then gave a short account, and afterwards delivered it to them in writing, of the reasons why I left Georgia.

Sunday 26, I preached at six at St. Lawrence's: at ten, in St. Katharine's Creed-church; and in the afternoon at St. John's, Wapping. I believe it pleased God to bless the first sermon most, because it gave most offence; being, indeed, an open defiance of that mystery of iniquity which the world calls Prudence: grounded on those words of St. Paul to the Galatians, *As many as desire to make a fair shew in the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised, only lest they should suffer persecution for the cross of Christ.*

Monday 27, I took coach for Salisbury, and had several opportunities of conversing seriously with my fellow-travellers. But endeavouring to mend the wisdom of God by the worldly wisdom of prefacing serious with light conversation, and afterwards following that advice of the Mystics, *Leave them to themselves*, all I had said was written on the sand. *Lord, lay not this sin to my charge!*

Tuesday 28, I saw my mother once more. The next day I prepared for my journey to my brother at Tiverton. But on Thursday morning, March 2, a message—That my brother Charles was dying at Oxford, obliged me to set out for that place immediately. Calling at an odd house in the afternoon, I found several persons there who seemed well-wishers to religion, to whom I spake plainly; as I did in the evening both to the servants and strangers at my Inn.

With regard to my own behaviour, I now renewed and wrote down my former resolutions.

1. To use absolute openness and unreserve, with all I should converse with.

2. To labour after continual seriousness, not willingly indulging myself, in any the least levity of behaviour, or in laughter, no not for a moment.

3. To speak no word which does not tend to the glory of God; in particular, not to talk of worldly things. Others may, nay must. But what is that to thee? And

4. To take no pleasure which does not tend to the glory of God; thanking God every moment for all I do take, and therefore rejecting every sort and degree of it which I feel I cannot so thank him *in* and *for*.

Saturday, March 4, I found my brother at Oxford, recovering from his pleurisy: and with him Peter Bohler: by whom, in the hand of the great God, I was on Sunday the 5th clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of *that faith whereby alone we are saved.*

Immediately it struck into my mind, "Leave off preaching. How can you preach to others, who have not faith yourself?" I asked Bohler, whether he thought I should leave it off, or not? He answered, "By no means." I asked, "But what can I preach?" He said, "Preach faith, *till* you have it, and then, *because* you have it, you *will* preach faith."

Accordingly, Monday 6, I began preaching this new doctrine, though my soul started back from the work. The first person to whom I offered *Salvation by Faith alone*, was a prisoner under sentence of death. His name was Clifford. Peter Bohler had many times desired me to speak to him before. But I could not prevail on myself so to do; being still, as I had been many years, a zealous asserter of *the impossibility of a death-bed repentance.*

Friday 10, Peter Bohler returned to London. Tuesday 15, I set out for Manchester, with Mr. Kinchin, Fellow of Corpus Christi, and Mr. Fox, late a prisoner in the city prison. Between five and six, we called at Chapel on the Heath, where lived a poor man, some time prisoner in the Castle of Oxford. He was not at home; but his wife came to us, to whom Mr. Kinchin spoke a few words, which so melted her heart, that she burst out into tears, and we went on rejoicing and praising God.

About 8, it being rainy and dark, we lost our way; but before 9, came to Shipston, having rode over, I know not how, a narrow foot-bridge, which lay across a deep ditch near the town. After supper I read prayers to the people

of the Inn, and explained the Second Lesson; I hope not in vain.

The next day we dined at Birmingham, and soon after we left it, were reproved for our negligence there (in letting those who attended us go, without either exhortation or instruction) by a severe shower of hail. At Hedgeford, about five, we endeavoured to be more faithful; and all who heard seemed serious and affected.

In the evening we came to Stafford. The mistress of the house joined with us in family prayer. The next morning one of the servants appeared deeply affected, as did the hostler before we went. Soon after breakfast, stepping into the stable, I spake a few words to those who were there. A stranger who heard me, said, "Sir, I wish I was to travel with you." And when I went into the house, followed me, and began abruptly, "Sir, I believe you are a good man, and I come to tell you a little of my life." The tears stood in his eyes all the time he spoke; and we hoped not a word which was said to him was lost.

At Newcastle, whither we came about ten, some to whom we spoke at our Inn, were very attentive; but a gay young woman waited on us, quite unconcerned: however, we spoke on. When we went away, she fixed her eyes, and neither moved nor said one word, but appeared as much astonished as if she had seen one risen from the dead.

Coming to Holms-Chapel about three, we were surprised at being shewn into a room, where a cloth and plates were laid. Soon after, two men came in to dinner. Mr. Kinchin told them, "If they pleased, that gentleman would ask a blessing for them." They stared, and, as it were, consented; but sat still while I did it, one of them with his hat on. We began to speak on turning to God, and went on, though they appeared utterly regardless. After a while their countenances changed, and one of them stole off his hat, and laying it down behind him said, "All we said was true; but he had been a grievous sinner, and not considered it as he ought: but he was resolved, with God's help, now to turn to him in earnest." We exhorted him

and his companion, who now likewise drank in every word, To cry mightily to God, that "he would send them help from his holy place."

Being faint in the evening, I called at Altringham, and there lit upon a Quaker, well skilled in, and therefore, as I soon found, sufficiently fond of controversy. After an hour spent therein, perhaps not in vain, I advised him, "To dispute as little as possible, but rather follow after holiness, and walk humbly with his God."

Late at night we reached Manchester. Friday the 17th, we spent entirely with Mr. Clayton, by whom, and the rest of our friends here, we were much refreshed and strengthened. Mr. Hoole, the Rector of St. Ann's church being taken ill the next day, on Sunday 19, Mr. Kinchin and I officiated at Salford chapel in the morning, by which mean Mr. Clayton was at liberty to perform the service at St. Ann's: And in the afternoon, I preached there on those words of St. Paul, "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature."

Early in the morning we left Manchester, taking with us Mr. Kinchin's brother, for whom we came; to be entered at Oxford. We were fully determined to lose no opportunity of awakening, instructing, or exhorting, any whom we might meet with in our journey. At Knutsford, where we first stopped, all we spake to, thankfully received the word of exhortation. But at Talk-in-the-Hill, where we dined, she with whom we were, was so much of a gentlewoman, that for near an hour our labour seemed to be in vain. However we spoke on. Upon a sudden, she looked as one just awaked out of sleep. Every word sunk into her heart. Nor have I seen so intire a change both in the eyes, face, and manner of speaking, of any one in so short a time.

About 5, Mr. Kinchin riding by a man and woman double-horsed, the man said, "Sir, you ought to thank God it is a fair day; for if it rained, you would be sadly dirty, with your little horse." Mr. Kinchin answered, "True: and we ought to thank God for our life and health, and food and raiment, and all things." He then rode on,

Mr. Fox following, the man said, "Sir, my mistress would be glad to have some more talk with that gentleman." We stayed, and when they came up, began to search one another's hearts. They came to us again in the evening, at our Inn at Stone, when I explained both to them and many of their acquaintance who were come together, that great truth, "Godliness hath the promise both of this life, and of that which is to come."

Tuesday 21, Between nine and ten we came to Hedgeford. Just then, one was giving an account of a young woman, who had dropt down dead there the day before. This gave us a fair occasion to exhort all that were present, "so to number their own days that they might apply their hearts unto wisdom."

In the afternoon one overtook us, whom we soon found more inclined to speak than to hear. However we spoke, and spared not. In the evening we overtook a young man, a Quaker, who afterwards came to us, to our Inn at Henley, whither he sent for the rest of his family, to join with us in prayer: To which I added, as usual, the Exposition of the Second Lesson. Our other companion went with us a mile or two in the morning, and then not only spoke less than the day before; but took in good part a serious caution against talkativeness and vanity.

An hour after we were overtaken by an elderly gentleman, who said, "He was going to enter his son at Oxford." We asked, "At what College?" He said, "he did not know: having no acquaintance there on whose recommendation he could depend." And after some conversation, he expressed a deep sense of the good Providence of God, and told us, "He knew God had cast us in his way, in answer to his prayer." In the evening we reached Oxford, rejoicing in our having received so many fresh instances of that great truth, "In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths."

Thursday 23, I met Peter Bohler again, who now amazed me more and more, by the account he gave of the fruits of living faith, the holiness and happiness which he affirmed

to attend it. The next morning I began the Greek Testament again, resolving to abide by *the Law and the Testimony*, and being confident, that God would hereby shew me *whether* this *doctrine was of God?*

Sunday 26, I preached at Whitham on *the New Creature*, and went in the evening to a society in Oxford, where (as my manner then was at all societies) after using a Collect or two and the Lord's prayer, I expounded a chapter in the New Testament, and concluded with three or four more Collects and a psalm.

Monday 27, Mr. Kinchin went with me to the Castle, where, after reading prayers, and preaching on "It is appointed for men once to die," we prayed with the condemned man, first in several forms of prayer, and then in such words as were given us in that hour. He kneeled down in much heaviness and confusion, having "no rest in his bones by reason of his sins." After a space, he rose up, and eagerly said, "I am now ready to die. I know Christ has taken away my sins, and there is no more condemnation for me." The same composed cheerfulness he shewed when he was carried to execution; and in his last moments he was the same, enjoying a perfect peace, in confidence that he was *accepted in the Beloved.*

Saturday, April 1, Being at Mr. Fox's society, my heart was so full that I could not confine myself to the forms of prayer, which we were accustomed to use there. Neither do I propose to be confined to them any more; but to pray indifferently, with a form or without, as I may find suitable to particular occasions.

Sunday 2, Being Easter-day, I preached in our college chapel, on "The hour cometh and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live." I preached in the afternoon first at the Castle, and then at Carfax, on the same words. I see the promise. But it is afar off.

Believing it would be better for me to wait for the accomplishment of it in silence and retirement, on Monday 3, I complied with Mr. Kinchin's desire, and went to him at

Dummer in Hampshire. But I was not suffered to stay here long; being earnestly prest to come up to London, if it were only for a few days. Thither therefore I returned, on Tuesday 18.

Saturday 21, I met Peter Bohler once more; I had now no objection to what he said of the nature of faith, viz. That it is (to use the words of our church), "A sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that through the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God." Neither could I deny either the happiness or holiness which he described, as fruits of this living faith. "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our Spirit that we are the children of God: "And, "He that believeth hath the witness in himself," fully convinced me of the former: As, "Whatsoever is born of God, doth not commit sin," and "Whosoever believeth, is born of God," did of the latter. But I could not comprehend what he spoke of *an instantaneous work*. I could not understand, how this faith should be given in a moment; how a man could *at once* be thus turned from darkness to light, from sin and misery to righteousness and joy in the Holy Ghost. I searched the Scriptures again, touching this very thing, particularly the Acts of the Apostles: But, to my utter astonishment, found scarce any instances there of other than *instantaneous* conversions; scarce any so slow as that of St. Paul, who was three days in the pangs of the New Birth. I had but *one* retreat left; viz. "*Thus*, I grant God wrought in the *first* ages of Christianity: but the times are changed. What reason have I to believe, he works in the same manner now?"

But on Sunday 22, I was beat out of this retreat too, by the concurring evidence of several living witnesses; who testified God *had thus wrought in themselves;* giving them in a moment, such a faith in the blood of his Son, as translated them out of darkness into light, out of sin and fear into holiness and happiness. Here ended my disputing. I could now only cry out, "Lord, help thou my unbelief!"

I asked P. Bohler again, "Whether I ought not to refrain

from teaching others?" He said, "No: Do not hide in the earth the talent God hath given you." Accordingly, on Tuesday 25, I spoke clearly and fully at Blendon to Mr. Delamotte's family, of the nature and fruits of faith. Mr. Broughton and my brother were there. Mr. Broughton's great objection was, "He could never think that I had not faith, who had done and suffered such things."* My brother was very angry, and told me I did not know what mischief I had done by talking thus. And indeed it did please God then to kindle a fire, which I trust shall never be extinguished.

On Wednesday 26, The day fixt for my return to Oxford, I once more waited on the Trustees for Georgia; but being straitened for time, was obliged to leave the papers for them, which I had designed to give into their own hands. One of these was the instrument whereby they had appointed me minister of Savannah; which, having no more place in those parts, I thought it not right to keep any longer.

P. Bohler walked with me a few miles, and exhorted me not to stop short of the grace of God. At Gerrard's Cross I plainly declared to those whom God gave into my hands, the faith as it is in Jesus; as I did next day to a young man I overtook on the road, and in the evening to our friends at Oxford. A strange doctrine, which some, who did not care to contradict, yet knew not what to make of; but one or two, who were thoroughly bruised by sin, willingly heard, and received it gladly.

In the day or two following, I was much confirmed in *the truth that is after godliness*, by hearing the experiences of Mr. Hutchins, of Pembroke College, and Mr. Fox: two living witnesses that God *can* (at least if he *does* not always) give that faith whereof cometh salvation in a moment, as lightning falling from heaven.

Monday, May 1, The return of my brother's illness obliged me again to hasten to London. In the evening I found him at James Hutton's, better, as to his health, than

* He was in the right. I certainly then had the faith of a servant, though not the faith of a son.

I expected; but strongly averse from what he called the New Faith.

This evening our little society began, which afterwards met in Fetter-lane. Our fundamental Rules were as follows:—

In obedience to the command of God by St. James, and by the advice of Peter Bohler, it is agreed by us,

1. That we will meet together once a week to *confess our faults one to another, and pray one for another, that we may be healed.*

2. That the persons so meeting be divided into several bands or little companies, none of them consisting of fewer than five, or more than ten persons.

3. That every one in order, speak as freely, plainly, and concisely as he can, the real state of his heart, with his several temptations and deliverances, since the last time of meeting.

4. That all the bands have a conference at eight every Wednesday evening, begun and ended with singing and prayer.

5. That any who desire to be admitted into this society be asked, "What are your reasons for desiring this? Will you be entirely open, using no kind of reserve? Have you any objection to any of our orders? (which may then be read).

6. That when any new member is proposed, every one present speak clearly and freely whatever objection he has to him.

7. That those against whom no reasonable objection appears, be, in order for their trial, formed into one, or more distinct bands, and some person agreed on to assist them.

8. That after two months trial, if no objection then appear, they may be admitted into the society.

9. That every fourth Saturday be observed, as a day of general intercession.

10. That on the Saturday seven-night following, be a general love-feast, from seven till ten in the evening.

11. That no particular member be allowed to act in any

thing contrary to any order of the society: and that if any persons after being thrice admonished, do not conform thereto, they be not any longer esteemed as members.

Wednesday 3, My brother had a long and particular conversation with Peter Bohler. And it now pleased God to open his eyes; so that he also saw clearly what was the nature of that one, true living faith, whereby alone, *through grace, we are saved.*

Thursday 4, Peter Bohler left London in order to embark for Carolina. O what a work has God begun, since his coming into England! Such an one as shall never come to an end, till heaven and earth pass away.

Friday and Saturday I was at Blendon. They now *believed our report.* O may the arm of the Lord be speedily revealed unto them!

Sunday 7, I preached at St. Lawrence's in the morning; and afterwards at St. Katherine's-creed church. I was enabled to speak strong words at both; and was therefore the less surprised at being informed, I was not to preach any more in either of those churches.

Tuesday 9, I preached at Great St. Helen's, to a very numerous congregation, on "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?" My heart was now so enlarged to declare the love of God, to all that were opprest by the devil, that I did not wonder in the least, when I was afterwards told, "Sir, you must preach here no more."

Wednesday 10, Mr. Stonehouse, Vicar of Islington, was convinced of the truth as it is in Jesus. From this time till Saturday 13, I was sorrowful and very heavy; being neither able to read, nor meditate, nor sing, nor pray, nor do any thing. Yet I was a little refreshed by Peter Bohler's letter, which I insert in his own words:

CHARISSIME & SUAVISSIME FRATER,

Intentissimo amore te diligo, multum tui recordans in itinere meo, optando & precando ut quam primum viscera misericordiæ crucifixi Jesu Christi, tui gratia jam ante

6000 *annos commota, menti tuæ appareant: Ut gustare & tunc videre possis, quam vehementer te Filius Dei amaverit et hucusque amet, & ut sic confidere possis in eo omni tempore, vitamque ejus in te & in carne tua sentire. Cave tibi a peccato incredulitatis, et si nondum vicisti illud, fac ut proximo die illud vincas, per Sanguinem Jesu Christi. Ne differ, quæso credere tuum in Jesum Christum; sed potius promissionum ejus, quæ pertinent ad miserandos peccatores, coram facie ejus benigna sic mentionem fac, ut non aliter possit quam præsatre tibi, quod multis aliis præstitit. O quam multus, quam magnus, quam inexhaustus, est illius Amor! Ille certe jam-jam paratus est ad auxilium, et nihil potest illum offendere nisi incredulitas nostra. Crede igitur. Fratrem tuum Carolum & Hall, nomine meo saluta multum; & admonete vos invicem ad credendum, & tunc ad ambulandum coram facie domini* ακριβως, *& ad pugnandum contra Diabolum & Mundum* νομιμως, *et ad crucifigendum & conculcandum peccatum omne sub pedibus nostris, quantum nobis datum est per gratiam secundi Adami, cujus vita excedit mortem prioris Adami, & cujus gratia antecellit corruptionem & damnationem prioris Adami.*

Dominus tibi benedicat. Permane in fide, amore, doctrina, communione sanctorum, & breviter, in omni quod habemus in Novo Fœdere. Ego sum & maneo

Tuus indignus Frater,
Petrus Bohler.

In Agris Southamptonianis,
Die 8vo Maii, 1738.

"I love you greatly, and think much of you in my journey, wishing and praying that the tender mercies of Jesus Christ the crucified, whose bowels were moved toward you more than six thousand years ago, may be manifested to your soul; that you may taste and then see how exceedingly the Son of God has loved you, and loves you still, and that so you may continually trust in him, and feel his life in yourself. Beware of the sin of unbelief; and if you have not conquered it yet, see that you conquer it this very day,

through the blood of Jesus Christ. Delay not, I beseech you, to believe in *your* Jesus Christ; but so put him in mind of his promises to poor sinners, that he may not be able to refrain from doing for you what he hath done for so many others. O how great, how inexpressible, how unexhausted is his love! Surely he is now ready to help; and nothing can offend him but our unbelief.

"The Lord bless you! Abide in faith, love, teaching, the communion of saints; and briefly, in all which we have in the New Testament. I am,

"Your unworthy Brother,

"PETER BOHLER.

Sunday 14, I preached in the morning at St. Ann's, Aldersgate; and in the afternoon at the Savoy Chapel, free salvation by faith in the blood of Christ. I was quickly apprised, that at St. Ann's likewise, I am to preach no more.

So true did I find the words of a friend, wrote to my brother about this time:

"I have seen upon this occasion more than ever I could have imagined, how intolerable the doctrine of faith is to the mind of man; and how peculiarly intolerable to *religious* men. One may say the most unchristian things, even down to deism; the most enthusiastic things, so they proceed but upon mental raptures, lights and unions; the most severe things, even the whole rigour of ascetick mortification; and all this will be forgiven. But if you speak of faith in such a manner as makes Christ a Saviour to the utmost, a most universal help and refuge: in such a manner as takes away glorying, but adds happiness to wretched man; as discovers a greater pollution in the best of us, than we could before acknowledge, but brings a greater deliverance from it than we could before expect: If any one offers to talk at this rate, he shall be heard with the same abhorrence as if he was going to rob mankind of their salvation, their Mediator, or their hopes of forgiveness. I am persuaded that a Montanist or a Novation, who, from the height of his purity

should look down with contempt upon poor sinners, and exclude them from all mercy, would not be thought such an overthrower of the Gospel, as he who should learn from the author of it, to be a friend of publicans and sinners, and to sit down upon the level with them as soon as they begin to repent."

"But this is not to be wondered at. For all religious people have such a quantity of righteousness, acquired by much painful exercise, and formed at last into current habits; which is their wealth, both for this world and the next. Now all other schemes of religion are either so complaisant, as to tell them, they are very rich and have enough to triumph in; or else only a little rough, but friendly in the main, by telling them their riches are not yet sufficient, but by such arts of self-denial, and mental refinement, they may enlarge their stock. But the doctrine of faith is a downright robber. It takes away all this wealth, and only tells us, it is deposited for us with some body else, upon whose bounty we must live like mere beggars. Indeed they that are truly beggars, vile and filthy sinners until very lately, may stoop to live in this dependent condition: It suits them well enough. But they who have long distinguished themselves from the herd of vicious wretches, or have even gone beyond moral men; for them to be told, that they are either not so well, or but the same needy, impotent, insignificant vessels of mercy with the others: This is more shocking to reason than transubstantiation. For reason had rather resign its pretensions to judge what is bread or flesh, than have this honour wrested from it, to be the architect of virtue and righteousness. But where am I running? My design was only to give you warning, that wherever you go, this foolishness of preaching will alienate hearts from you, and open mouths against you."

Friday 19, My brother had a second return of his pleurisy. A few of us spent Saturday night in prayer. The next day, being Whitsunday, after hearing Dr. Heylin preach a truly Christian sermon, (on, "They were all filled with the Holy Ghost:" and so, said he, may all you

be, if it is not your own fault,) and assisting him at the Holy Communion (his curate being taken ill in the church) I received the surprising news that my brother had found rest to his soul. His bodily strength returned also from that hour. *Who is so great a God as our God?*

I preached at St. John's, Wapping, at three; and at St. Bennet's, Paul's Wharf, in the evening. At these churches likewise I am to preach no more. At St. Antholin's I preached on the Thursday following.

Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, I had continual sorrow and heaviness in my heart, something of which I described, in the broken manner I was able, in the following letter to a friend:

"O why is it that so great, so wise, so holy a God, will use such an instrument as me! Lord, *let the dead bury their dead!* But wilt thou send the dead to raise the dead? Yea, thou sendest whom thou *wilt send*, and shewest mercy by whom thou *wilt* shew mercy! Amen! Be it then according to thy will! If thou speak the word, Judas shall cast out devils.——

"I feel what you say (though not enough;) for I am under the same condemnation. I see that the whole law of God is holy, just, and good. I know every thought, every temper of my soul ought to bear God's image and superscription. But how am I fallen from the glory of God! I feel that I *am sold under sin*. I know that I too deserve nothing but wrath, being full of all abominations; and having no good thing in me to atone for them, or to remove the wrath of God. All my works, all my righteousness, my prayers, need an atonement for themselves. So that my mouth is stopped. I have nothing to plead. God is holy, I am unholy. God is a consuming fire. I am altogether a sinner, meet to be consumed.

"Yet I hear a voice (and is it not the voice of God?) saying, *Believe and thou shalt be saved. He that believeth is passed from death unto life. God so loved the world*

that he gave his only begotten Son that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

"O let no one deceive us by vain words, as if we had already attained this faith! By its fruits we shall know. Do we already feel *peace with God* and *joy in the Holy Ghost?* Does his *Spirit bear witness with our spirits that we are the children of God?* Alas! with mine he does not. Nor, I fear, with your's. O thou Saviour of men, save us from trusting in any thing but *Thee!* Draw us after thee! Let us be emptied of ourselves, and then fill us with all peace and joy in believing, and let nothing separate us from thy love, in time or in eternity!

What occurred on Wednesday 24, I think best to relate at large, after premising what may make it the better understood. Let him that cannot receive it, ask of the Father of lights, that he would give more light to him and me.

1. I believe, till I was about ten years old, I had not sinned away that *Washing of the Holy Ghost* which was given me in baptism, having been strictly educated and carefully taught, that I could only be saved *by universal obedience, by keeping all the commandments of God;* in the meaning of which I was diligently instructed. And those instructions, so far as they respected outward duties and sins, I gladly received, and often thought of. But all that was said to me of inward obedience, or holiness, I neither understood nor remembered. So that I was indeed as ignorant of the true meaning of the law as I was of the Gospel of Christ.

2. The next six or seven years were spent at school; where outward restraints being removed, I was much more negligent than before even of outward duties, and almost continually guilty of outward sins, which I knew to be such, though they were not scandalous in the eye of the world. However I still read the Scriptures, and said my prayers, morning and evening. And what I now hoped to be saved by was, 1. *Not being so bad as other people.* 2. *Having still a kindness for religion.* And 3. *Reading the Bible, going to church, and saying my prayers.*

3. Being removed to the university, for five years, I still said my prayers both in public and private, and read with the Scriptures several other books of religion, especially comments on the New Testament. Yet I had not all this while so much as a notion of inward holiness; nay, went on habitually, and, for the most part, very contentedly, in some or other known sin: Indeed with some intermissions and short struggles, especially before and after the Holy Communion, which I was obliged to receive thrice a year. I cannot well tell what I hoped to be saved by now, when I was continually sinning against that little light I had; unless by those transient fits of what many divines taught me to call *Repentance*.

4. When I was about twenty-two, my father pressed me to enter into Holy Orders. At the same time the Providence of God directing me to *Kempis's Christian Pattern*, I began to see that true Religion was seated in the heart, and that God's law extended to all our thoughts as well as words and actions. I was however very angry at Kempis for being *too strict*, though I read him only in Dean Stanhope's translation. Yet I had frequently much sensible comfort in reading him, such as I was an utter stranger to before. And meeting likewise with a religious friend, which I never had till now, I began to alter the whole form of my conversation, and to set in earnest upon a *New Life*. I set apart an hour or two a day for religious retirement. I communicated every week. I watched against all sin, whether in word or deed. I began to aim at and pray for inward holiness. So that now, *doing so much and living so good a life*, I doubted not but I was a good Christian.

5. Removing soon after to another College, I executed a resolution, which I was before convinced was of the utmost importance, shaking off at once all my trifling acquaintance. I began to see more and more the value of time. I applied myself closer to study. I watched more carefully against actual sins: I advised others to be religious, according to that scheme of religion by which I modelled my own life. But meeting now with Mr. Law's *Christian Perfection and*

Serious Call (although I was much offended at many parts of both, yet) they convinced me more than ever of the exceeding height, and breadth, and depth of the law of God. The light flowed in so mightily upon my soul that every thing appeared in a new view. I cried to God for help, and resolved not to prolong the time of obeying him as I had never done before. And by my continued *endeavour to keep his whole law*, inward and outward, *to the utmost of my power*, I was persuaded that I should be accepted of him, and that I was even then in a state of salvation.

6. In 1730, I began visiting the prisons, assisting the poor and sick in town, and doing what other good I could by my presence or my little fortune to the bodies and souls of all men. To this end I abridged myself of all superfluities, and many that are called necessaries of life. I soon became *a by-word* for so doing, and I rejoiced that *my name was cast out as evil.* The next Spring I began observing the Wednesday and Friday Fasts, commonly observed in the ancient church; tasting no food till three in the afternoon. And now I knew not how to go any further. I diligently strove against all sin. I ommitted no sort of self-denial which I thought lawful; I carefully used, both in public and in private, all the means of grace at all opportunities. I omitted no occasion of doing good. I for that reason suffered evil. And all this I knew to be nothing, unless it was directed toward inward holiness. Accordingly this (the image of God) was what I aimed at in all, by doing his will, not my own. Yet when after continuing some years in this course, I apprehended myself to be near death; I could not find that all this gave me any comfort, or any assurance of acceptance with God. At this I was then not a little surprised; not imagining I had been all this time building on the sand; * not considering that *other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid by God, even* Christ Jesus.

7. Soon after a contemplative man convinced me still more than I was convinced before, that outward works are no-

* Not so; I was right as far as I went.

thing, being alone: and in several conversations instructed me how to pursue inward holiness, or a union of the soul with God. But even of his instructions, though I then received them as the words of God, I cannot but now observe, 1. That he spoke so incautiously against *trusting* in *outward works*, that he discouraged me from *doing* them at all. 2. That he recommended, as it were to supply what was wanting in them, *mental prayer*, and the like exercises, as the most effectual means of purifying the soul, and uniting it with God. Now these were in truth, as much *my own works* as visiting the sick or clothing the naked, and the *union with* God thus pursued, was as really *my own righteousness*, as any I had before pursued, under another name.

8. In this *refined* way of trusting to my own works and my own righteousness, so zealously inculcated by the *Mystic* writers, I dragged on heavily, finding no comfort or help therein, till the time of my leaving England. On shipboard, however, I was again active in outward works: where it pleased God, of his free mercy, to give me twenty-six of the Moravian brethren for companions, who endeavoured to shew me a more excellent way. But I understood it not at first. I was too learned and too wise. So that it seemed foolishness unto me. And I continued preaching and following after and trusting in that righteousness, whereby no flesh can be justified.

9. All the time I was at Savannah I was thus *beating the air*. Being ignorant of the righteousness of Christ, which, by a living faith in him bringeth salvation *to every one that believeth*, I sought to establish my own righteousness, and so laboured in the fire all my days. I was now, properly *under the Law;* I knew that "the Law of God was spiritual;" "I consented to it that it was good. Yea, I delighted in it, after the inner man." Yet I was "carnal, sold under sin." Every day was I constrained to cry out, "What I do, I allow not; for what I would I do not, but what I hate, that I do. To will is indeed present with me; but how to perform that which is good, I find not. For the good which I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not,

that I do. I find a law, that when I would do good, evil is present with me: Even the law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and still bringing me into captivity to the law of sin."

10. In this state, I was indeed fighting continually but not conquering. Before, I had willingly served sin; now it was unwillingly, but still I served it. I fell and rose and fell again. Sometimes I was overcome, and in heaviness: Sometimes I overcame, and was in joy. For, as in the former state, I had some foretastes of the terrors of the Law, so had I in this, of the comforts of the Gospel. During this whole struggle between nature and grace, which had now continued above ten years, I had many remarkable returns to prayer, especially when I was in trouble: I had many sensible comforts, which are indeed no other than short anticipations of the life of faith. But I was still *under the Law*, not *under Grace*, the state most who are called Christians are content to live and die in. For I was only *striving with*, not *freed from sin:* Neither had I *the witness of the Spirit with my spirit.* And indeed could not: for "I sought it not by faith, but, as it were, by the works of the Law."

11. In my return to England, January 1738, being in imminent danger of death, and very uneasy on that account, I was strongly convinced that the cause of that uneasiness was unbelief, and that the gaining a true living faith was the *one thing needful for* me. But still I fixt not this faith on its right object: I meant only faith in God, not faith in or through Christ. Again, I knew not that I was *wholly void of this faith;* but only thought, *I had not enough* of it. So that when Peter Bohler, whom God prepared for me as soon as I came to London, affirmed of true faith in Christ, which is but one, that it had those two fruits inseparably attending it, "Dominion over sin, and constant peace from a sense of forgiveness," I was quite amazed, and looked upon it as a new Gospel. If this were so, it was clear I had not faith. But I was not willing to be convinced of this. Therefore I disputed with all my might, and labour-

ed to prove, that faith might be where these were not; especially where the sense of forgiveness was not: For all the Scriptures relating to this, I had been long since taught to construe away, and to call all Presbyterians who spoke otherwise. Besides, I well saw, no one could, in the nature of things, have such a sense of forgiveness, and not *feel* it. But I felt it not. If then there was no faith without this,* all my pretensions to faith dropped at once.

12. When I met Peter Bohler again, he consented, to put the dispute upon the issue which I desired, viz. Scripture and experience. I first consulted the Scripture; but when I set aside the glosses of men, and simply considered the words of God, comparing them together, endeavouring to illustrate the obscure by the plainer passages, I found they all made against me, and was forced to retreat to my last hold, "That experience would never agree with the *literal interpretation* of those Scriptures. Nor could I therefore allow it to be true, till I found some living witness of it." He replied, "He could shew me such at any time; if I desired it, the next day." And accordingly the next day, he came again with three others, all of whom testified of their own personal experience, that a true living faith in Christ is inseparable from a sense of pardon for all past, and freedom from all present sins. They added with one mouth, that this faith was the gift, the free gift of God, and that he would surely bestow it upon every soul, who earnestly and perseveringly sought it. I was now thoroughly convinced; and, by the grace of God, I resolved to seek it unto the end, 1. By absolutely renouncing all dependence, in whole or in part, upon *my own* works or righteousness, on which I had really grounded my hope of salvation, though I knew it not, from my youth up. 2. By adding to *the constant use of all the* other *means of grace*, continual prayer for this very thing, justifying, saving faith, a full reliance on the blood of Christ shed for *me;* a trust in him, as *my* Christ, as *my* sole justification, sanctification and redemption.

* There is no Christian faith without it.

13. I continued thus to seek it (though with strange indifference, dullness, and coldness, and usual frequent relapses into sin), till Wednesday, May 24. I think it was about five this morning, that I opened my Testament on those words, Τα μεγιστα ημιν και τιμια επαγγελματα δεδωρηται, ινα γενησθε θειας κοινωνοι φυσεως, "There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, even that ye should be partakers of the Divine nature," 2 Pet. i. 4. Just as I went out, I opened it again on those words, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God." In the afternoon, I was asked to go to St. Paul's. The anthem was, "Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lord: Lord hear my voice. O let thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint. If thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? But there is mercy with thee; therefore thou shalt be feared. O Israel, trust in the Lord: For with the Lord there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption. And he shall redeem Israel from all his sins."

14. In the evening, I went very unwillingly to a Society in Aldersgate-street, where one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ; Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me, that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death.

15. I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner despitefully used me and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there, what I now first felt in my heart. But it was not long before the enemy suggested, "This cannot be Faith; for where is thy joy?" Then was I taught, that "Peace and victory over sin, are essential to Faith in the Captain of our salvation: But, that as to the transports of joy that usually attend the beginning of it, especially in those who have mourned deeply,

God sometimes giveth, sometimes with-holdeth them, according to the counsels of his own will."

16. After my return home, I was much buffeted with temptations: But cried out, and they fled away. They returned again and again. I as often lifted up my eyes, and he "sent me help from his holy place." And herein I found the difference between this and my former state chiefly consisted. I was striving, yea, fighting with all my might under the law, as well as under grace. But then I was sometimes, if not often, conquered; now, I was always conqueror.

17. Thursday, May 25, The moment I awaked, "Jesus, Master," was in my heart and in my mouth: And I found all my strength lay in keeping my eye fixed upon him and my soul waiting on him continually. Being again at St. Paul's in the afternoon, I could taste the good word of God in the Anthem, which began, "My song shall be always of the loving kindness of the Lord: With my mouth will I ever be shewing forth thy truth from one generation to another." Yet the enemy injected a fear, "If thou dost believe, why is there not a more sensible change? I answered, (yet not I) That I know not. But this I know, I have *now peace with* God: And *I sin not to-day*, and *Jesus* my master has forbid me to take thought for the morrow.

18. "But is not *any* sort of *fear* (continued the tempter) a proof that thou dost not believe?" I desired my master to answer for me; and opened his book upon those words of St. Paul, "Without were fightings, within were fears." Then inferred I, well may fears be within *me;* but I must go on, and tread them under my feet.

Friday 26, My soul continued in peace, but yet in heaviness, because of manifold temptations. I asked Mr. Telchig, the Moravian, what to do? He said, you must not fight with them, as you did before, but flee from them, the moment they appear, and take shelter in the wounds of Jesus. The same I learned also from the afternoon Anthem which was, "My soul truly waiteth still upon God;

for of him cometh my salvation; he verily is my strength and my salvation; he is my defence, so that I shall not greatly fall. O put your trust in him always, ye people; pour out your hearts before him; for God is our hope."

Saturday 27, Believing one reason of my want of joy, was want of time for prayer, I resolved to do no business till I went to church in the morning, but to continue pouring out my heart before him. And this day my spirit was enlarged; so that though I was now also assaulted by many temptations, I was more than conqueror, gaining more power thereby to trust and to rejoice in God my Saviour.

Sunday 28, I waked in peace, but not in joy. In the same even quiet state I was till the evening, when I was roughly attacked in a large company as an Enthusiast, a Seducer, and a Setter forth of new Doctrines. By the blessing of God I was not moved to anger, but after a calm and short reply went away: though not with so tender a concern as was due to those, who were seeking death in the error of their life.

This day I preached in the morning at St. George's, Bloomsbury, on *This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith;* and in the afternoon at the chapel in Long-acre, on God's justifying the ungodly; the last time (I understand) I am to preach at either. "Not as I will, but as thou wilt."

Monday 29, I set out for Dummer with Mr. Wolf, one of the first-fruits of Peter Bohler's ministry in England. I was much strengthened by the grace of God in him: Yet was his state so far above mine, that I was often tempted to doubt whether we had one faith? But, without much reasoning about it, I held here; Though his be *strong*, and mine *weak*, yet that God hath given *some degree* of faith even to me, I know by its fruits. For I have *constant peace:* not one uneasy thought. And I have *freedom from sin:* Not one unholy desire.

Yet on Wednesday did I grieve the Spirit of God, not only by not *watching unto prayer*, but likewise by speak-

ing with sharpness instead of tender love, of one that was not sound in the faith. Immediately God hid his face and I was troubled; and in this heaviness I continued till the next morning, June 1, when it pleased God, while I was exhorting another, to give comfort to my soul, and (after I had spent some time in prayer) to direct me to those gracious words, "Having therefore boldness, to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus—Let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith. Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering; (for he is faithful that hath promised) and let us consider one another, to provoke unto love and to good works."

Saturday, June 3, I was so strongly assaulted by one of my old enemies, that I had scarce strength to open my lips, or even too look up for help. But after I had prayed, faintly, as I could, the temptation vanished away.

Sunday 4, Was indeed a feast day. For from the time of my rising till past one in the afternoon, I was praying, reading the Scriptures, singing praise, or calling sinners to repentance. All these days I scarce remember to have opened the Testament, but upon some great and precious promise. And I saw more than ever, that the Gospel is in truth, but one great promise, from the beginning of it to the end.

Tuesday 6, I had still more comfort, and peace and joy: On which I fear I began to presume. For in the evening I received a letter from Oxford, which threw me into much perplexity. It was asserted therein, "That no doubting could consist with the least degree of true faith: That whoever at any time felt any doubt or fear, was not *Weak in Faith*, but had *no Faith* at all: And that none had any faith, till the law of the spirit of life has made him *wholly* free from the law of sin and death."

Begging of God to direct me, I opened my Testament on 1 Cor. iii. 1. &c. where St. Paul speaks of those whom he terms *Babes* in *Christ*, who were *not able to bear strong meat*, nay, in a sense, *carnal;* to whom nevertheless he says, "Ye are God's building, ye are the temple of

God." Surely then these men had *some degree* of faith: though it is plain, their faith was but *weak*.

After some hours spent in the Scriptures and prayer, I was much comforted. Yet I felt a kind of soreness in my heart, so that I found my wound was not fully healed. O God, save thou me, and all that are *weak in the faith*, from *doubtful disputations!*

Wednesday 7, I determined, if God should permit, to retire for a short time into Germany. I had fully purposed before I left Georgia so to do, if it should please God to bring me back to Europe. And I now clearly saw the time was come. My weak mind could not bear to be thus sawn asunder. And I hoped the conversing with these holy men, who were themselves living witnesses of the full power of faith, and yet able to bear with those that are weak, would be a means, under God, of so establishing my soul, that I might "go on from faith to faith, and from strength to strength."

Thursday 8, I went to Salisbury, to take leave of my mother. The next day I left Sarum, and on Saturday came to Stanton-Harcourt. Having preached Faith in Christ there on Sunday 11, I went on to Oxford; and thence on Monday to London, where I found Mr. Ingham just setting out. We went on board the next day, Tuesday 13, and fell down to Gravesend that night. About four in the afternoon on Wednesday we lost sight of England. We reached the Maese at eight on Thursday morning, and in an hour and a half landed at Rotterdam.

We were eight in all, five English and three Germans. Dr. Koker, a physician of Rotterdam, was so kind, when we set forward in the afternoon, as to walk an hour with us on our way. I never before saw any such road as this. For many miles together it is raised for some yards above the level, and paved with a small sort of brick, as smooth and clean as the Mall at St. James's. The walnut-trees stand in even rows on either side: So that no walk in a gentleman's garden is pleasanter. About seven we came to Goudart, where we were a little surprised, at meeting with

a treatment which is not heard of in England. Several Inns utterly refused to entertain us; so that it was with difficulty we at last found one, where they did us the favour to take our money for some meat and drink, and the use of two or three bad beds. They pressed us much in the morning to see their Church, but were displeased at our pulling off our hats when we went in; telling us, "We must not do so; it was not the custom there." It is a large old building, of the Gothic kind, resembling some of our English Cathedrals. There is much history-painting in the windows, which they told us, is greatly admired. About eight we left Goudart, and in a little more than six hours we reached Ysselstein.

Here we were at Baron Wattevil's as at home. We found with him a few German brethren and sisters, and seven or eight of our English acquaintance, who had settled here some time before. They lodged just without the town, in three or four little houses, till one should be built that would contain them all. Saturday 17, was their Intercession-day. In the morning, some of our English brethren desired me to administer the Lord's Supper: The rest of the day we spent with all the brethren and sisters, in hearing the wonderful work which God is beginning to work over all the earth, and in making our requests known unto him, and giving him thanks for the mightiness of his kingdom.

At six in the morning we took boat. The beautiful gardens lie on both sides the river, for great part of the way to Amsterdam, whither we came about five in the evening. The exact neatness of all the buildings here, the nice cleanness of the streets (which, we were informed, were all washed twice a week) and the canals which run through all the main streets, with rows of trees on either side, make this the pleasantest city which I have ever seen. Here we were entertained with truly Christian hospitality, by Mr. Decknatel, a minister of the Mennonists, who suffered us to want nothing while we stayed here, which was till the Thursday following. Dr. Barkausen (a Physician,

a Muscovite by nation) who had been with Mr. Decknatel, for some time, shewed us likewise all possible kindness. *Remember them, O Lord, for good!*

Monday 19, I was at one of the Societies, which lasted an hour and a half. About sixty persons were present. The singing was in Low-Dutch, (Mr. Decknatel having translated into Low-Dutch, part of the Hernhuth hymn-book) but the words were so very near the German, that any who understood the original, might understand the translation. The expounding was in High-Dutch. I was at another of the Societies on Tuesday, where were present about the same number. On Wednesday, one of our company found a sheep that had been lost; his sister, who had lived here for some time with one whom she loved too well, as he did her. But they were now both resolved, by the grace of God (which they accordingly executed without delay) "To pluck out the right eye, and cast it from them."

Thursday 22, We took boat at eight in the evening, and landing at four in the morning, walked on to Uutfass, which we left about two, having now another boy added to our number. A little before eight we came to Bourn, a small ill-built city, belonging to the Prince of Orange. Setting out early in the morning, we came to Nimwegen, the last town in Holland, about two in the afternoon: And leaving it at four, came before eight to an Inn, two hours short of Cleve.

Sunday 25, After spending an hour in singing and prayer, we walked till near noon, before we could meet with any refreshment. The road would have appeared exceeding pleasant, being broad and strait, with tall trees on either side, had not weariness and rain prevented. We hoped to reach Reinberg in the evening, but could not; being obliged to stop two hours short of it at a little house, where many good Lutherans were concluding the Lord's-day, as is usual among them, with fidling and dancing!

Monday 26, We breakfasted at Reinberg, left it at half an hour past ten, and at four came to Urding. Being much

tired, we rested here, so that it was near ten at night before we came to Neus. Having but a few hours walk from thence to Colen, we went thither easily, and came at five the next evening, into the ugliest, dirtiest city, I ever yet saw with my eyes.

Wednesday 28, We went to the Cathedral, which is mere heaps upon heaps; a huge, mishapen thing, which has no more of symmetry, than of neatness belonging to it. I was a little surprized to observe, that neither in this, nor in any other of the Romish Churches where I have been, is there, properly speaking, any such thing as joint worship: but one prays at one shrine or altar, and another at another, without any regard to, or communication with one another. As we came out of the church, a procession began on the other side of the church-yard. One of our company scrupling to pull off his hat, a zealous Catholic presently cried out, *knock down the Lutheran dog.* But we prevented any contest, by retiring into the Church.

Walking on the side of the Rhine in the afternoon, I saw to my great surprize, (for I have always thought before, no Romanist of any fashion believed any thing of the story,) a fresh painting, done last year at the public expence, on the outside of the city wall, in "Memory of the bringing in the heads of the three Kings (says the Latin inscription) through the gate adjoining:" Which indeed, in reverence, it seems, to them, has been stopped up ever since.

At four we took boat, when I could not but observe the decency of the Papists, above us who are called Reformed. As soon as ever we were seated, (and so every morning after) they all pulled off their hats, and each used by himself, a short prayer, for our prosperous journey. And this justice I must do to the very boatmen (who upon the Rhine are generally wicked even to a Proverb) I never heard one of them take the name of God in vain, or saw any one laugh, when any thing of religion was mentioned. So that I believe the glory of *sporting with sacred things*, is peculiar to the English nation!

We were four nights on the water, by reason of the swiftness of the stream, up which the boat was drawn by horses. The high mountains on each side the river, rising almost perpendicular, and yet covered with vines to the very top, gave us many agreeable prospects: A religious house, or old castle, every now and then appearing on the brow of one of them. On Sunday evening, July 2, we came to Mentz; and Monday the 3d, at half an hour past ten, to Frankfort.

Faint and weary as we were, we could have no admittance here, having brought no passes with us, which indeed we never imagined would have been required, in a time of settled general peace. After waiting an hour at the gates, we procured a messenger, whom we sent to Mr. Bohler (Peter Bohler's father) who immediately came, procured us entrance into the city, and entertained us in the most friendly manner. We set out early in the morning on Tuesday the 4th, and about one came to Marienborn. But I was so ill, that after talking a little with Count Zinzendorf, I was forced to lie down the rest of the day.

The family at Marienborn consists of about ninety persons gathered out of many nations. They live for the present in a large house hired by the Count, which is capable of receiving a far greater number; but are building one, about three English miles off, on the top of a fruitful hill. *O how pleasant a thing it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity!*

Thursday 6, The Count carried me with him to the Count of Solmes, where I observed with pleasure the German frugality. Three of the young Countesses, though grown up, were drest in linen; the Count and his son in plain cloth. At dinner, the next day, a glass of wine and a glass of water were set by every one, and if either was emptied, a second. They all conversed freely and unaffectedly. At ten at night we took coach again, and in the morning reached Marienborn.

I lodged with one of the brethren at Eckershausen, an English mile from Marienborn, where I usually spent the

day, chiefly in conversing with those who could speak either Latin or English; not being able, for want of more practice, to speak German readily. And here I continually met with what I sought for, viz. Living proofs of the power of faith: Persons *saved from* inward as well as outward *sin, by the love of God shed abroad in their hearts;* and from all doubt and fear, by the abiding *witness of the Holy Ghost given unto them.*

Sunday 9, The Count preached in the old Castle at Runneberg, about three English miles from Marienborn, where is also a small company of those who seek the Lord Jesus in sincerity. Wednesday 12, was one of the conferences for strangers; where one of Frankfort proposing the question, Can a man be justified and not know it? The Count spoke largely upon it, to this effect:

1. Justification is, the forgiveness of sins.

2. The moment a man flies to Christ, he is justified.

3. And has peace with God, but not always joy:

4. Nor perhaps may he know he is justified, till long after.*

5. For the assurance of it, is distinct from justification itself.

* "In giving this statement, Mr. Wesley has not made any remark on this proposition. But, certainly, it ought not to stand in so unguarded a manner. We know, 1. If a man has been really justified, a very great change has taken place in the state of his mind, which will shew itself in his life and conversation. 2. A man must necessarily be conscious of what has passed within himself, whether the change was instantaneous or gradual. 3. If, therefore, a man do not know that he is justified, when he really is so, it is because he does not understand the true scriptural evidence of a state of justification. This has sometimes been the case; when a man truly convinced of sin, and trusting in Christ for salvation, has not had the happiness to sit under a Gospel minister; or when he has sat under a minister, who, though he preached the doctrines of the Gospel, did not rightly divide the word of truth, nor point out to his hearers the order to be observed in the gradations of Christian experience, evidently founded on Scripture, and the nature of the human faculties. Such a preacher will never give his hearers clear and distinct views of the evidences of their state, whatever that state be." *Whitehead's Life of Wesley.*

6. But others may know he is justified by his power over sin, by his seriousness, his love of the brethren, and his *hunger and thirst after righteousness, which alone proves the spiritual life to be begun.*

7. To be justified is the same thing as to be born of God.*

8. When a man is awakened, he is begotten of God, and his fear and sorrow and sense of the wrath of God, are the pangs of the New Birth.

I then recollected what Peter Bohler had often said upon this head, which was to this effect:

1. When a man has living faith in Christ, then is he justified:

2. This is always given in a moment,

3. And in that moment he has peace with God;

4. Which he cannot have, without knowing that he has it:

5. And being born of God, he sinneth not:

6. Which deliverance from sin he cannot have, without knowing that he has it.

Saturday 15, Was the intercession day, when many strangers were present from different parts. On Monday 17, having stayed here ten days longer than I intended, my first design being only to rest one or two days, I proposed setting out for Hernhuth; but Mr. Ingham desiring me to stay a little longer, I stayed till Wednesday 19, when Mr. Hauptman, a native of Dresden, Mr. Brown, and I, set out together.

We breakfasted at Ghelenhausen, an old, unhandsome town, dined at Offenau, (where is a strange instance of moderation, a church used every Sunday, both by the Papists and the Lutherans alternately,) and notwithstanding some sharp showers of rain, in the evening reached Steinau. Thursday 20, we dined at Braunsal, and passing through Fulda, in the afternoon, where the Duke has a pleasant palace, travelled through a delightful country of hills and

* No: this is a mistake.

vales, and in the evening came to Reckersch. The next night, after having had the most beautiful prospect which I think I ever saw, from the top of a high hill, commanding a vast extent of various land on every side, we, with some difficulty and many words, procured a poor accommodation at an inn in Marksul. Saturday 22, having passed through Elsenach in the morning, we came through a more level open country, to Saxe Gotha in the afternoon, a neat pleasant city, in which the Prince's palace is indeed a fine building. We stopped an hour here with a friendly man, and in the evening came to Ditleben; and thence in the morning to Erfurt, where we were kindly entertained by Mr. Reinbart, to whom we were directed by some of the brethren at Marienborn. In the afternoon we came to Weymac, where we had more difficulty to get through the city than is usual, even in Germany; being not only detained a considerable time at the gate, but also carried before I know not what great man, I believe, the Duke, in the square; who, after many other questions, asked, What we were going so far as Hernhuth for? I answered, "To see the place where the Christians live." He looked hard, and let us go.

Monday 24, We came early to Jena, which lies at the bottom of several high, steep, barren hills. The students here are distinguished from the townsmen by their swords. They do not live together in colleges, (nor indeed in any of the German universities), as we do in Oxford and Cambridge; but are scattered up and down the town, in lodging or boarding houses; those of them to whom we were recommended, behaved as brethren indeed. O may brotherly kindness, and every good word and work, abound among them more and more!

At Jena the stone pillars begin, set up by the Elector of Saxony, and marking out every quarter of a German mile, to the end of his Electorate. Every mile is a large pillar, with the name of the neighbouring towns, and their distances inscribed. It were much to be wished, that the

same care were taken in England, and indeed in all countries.

We left Jena early on Tuesday, reached Weisenfeltz in the evening, and Merseberg on Wednesday morning. Having a desire to see Halle, (two German miles off), we set out after breakfast, and came thither at two in the afternoon. But we could not be admitted into the town when we came. The King of Prussia's tall men, who kept the gates, sent us backward and forward, from one gate to another, for near two hours. I then thought of sending in a note to Professor Francke, the son of that august Herman Francke, whose name is indeed as precious ointment. O may I follow him, as he did Christ! and *by manifestation of the truth commend myself to every man's conscience in the sight of God!*

He was not in town. However, we were at length admitted into the orphan-house, that amazing proof, that *all things are* still *possible to him that believeth.* There is now a large yearly revenue for its support; beside what is continually brought in by the printing-office, the books sold there, and the apothecary's shop, which is furnished with all sorts of medicines. The building reaches backward from the front in two wings, for, I believe, a hundred and fifty yards. The lodging chambers for the children, their dining-room, their chapel, and all the adjoining apartments, are so conveniently contrived, and so exactly clean, as I have never seen any before. Six hundred and fifty children, we are informed, are wholly maintained there, and three thousand, if I mistake not, taught. Surely such a thing neither we nor our fathers have known, as this great thing which God has done here!

Thursday 27, We returned to Merseberg, and at five in the evening came to the gates of Leipsig. After we had sent in our pass, and waited an hour and a half, we were suffered to go to a bad inn in the town.

Friday 28, We found out Mr. Merschall, and the other gentlemen of the university, to whom we were directed. They were not wanting in any good office while we stayed,

and in the afternoon went with us an hour forward in our journey.

After a pleasant walk on Saturday, on Sunday 30, about seven in the morning, we came to Meissen. In Meissen-castle, the German china-ware is made, which is full as dear as that imported from the Indies, and as finely shaped, and beautifully coloured, as any I have ever seen. After breakfast we went to church. I was greatly surprised at all I saw there; at the costliness of apparel in many, and the gaudiness of it, in more; at the huge fur caps worn by the women, of the same shape with a Turkish turband, which generally had one or more ribbands hanging down a great length behind. The minister's habit was adorned with gold and scarlet, and a vast cross both behind and before. Most of the congregation sat, (the men generally with their hats on, at the prayers as well as sermon), and all of them stayed during the Holy Communion, though but very few received. Alas, alas! what a *reformed* country is this!

At two in the afternoon we came to Dresden, the chief city of Saxony. Here also we were carried, for above two hours, from one magistrate or officer to another, with the usual impertinent solemnity, before we were suffered to go to the inn. I greatly wonder that common sense and common humanity (for these doubtless subsist in Germany as well as England), do not put an end to this senseless inhuman usage of strangers, which we met with at almost every German city, though more particularly at Frankfort, Weymac, Halle, Leipsig, and Dresden. I know nothing that can reasonably be said in its defence, in a time of full peace, being a breach of all the common, even heathen laws of hospitality. If it be a custom, so much the worse; the more is the pity, and the more the shame.

In the evening we saw the palace the late Elector was building, when God called him away. The stone-work he had very near finished, and some of the apartments within. It is a beautiful and magnificent design; but all is now swiftly running to ruin. The new church on the outside resembles a theatre: it is eight square, built of fine free-

stone. We were desired also to take notice of the great bridge, which joins the new with the old town; of the large brass crucifix upon it, generally admired for the workmanship; and the late King Augustus's statue on horseback, which is at a small distance from it. Alas! where will all these things appear, when *the earth and the works thereof shall be burnt up?*

Between five and six the next evening, (having left Mr. Hauptman with his relations in Dresden), we came to Neustadt, but could not procure any lodging in the city. After walking half an hour, we came to another little town, and found a sort of an inn there; but they told us plainly, *we should have no lodging with them; for they did not like our looks.*

About eight we were received at a little house in another village, where God gave us sweet rest.

Tuesday, August 1, At three in the afternoon, I came to Hernhuth, about thirty English miles from Dresden. It lies in Upper Lusatia, on the border of Bohemia, and contains about an hundred houses, built on a rising ground, with ever-green woods on two sides, gardens and corn-fields on the others, and high hills at a small distance. It has one long street, through which the great road from Zittau to Lobau goes. Fronting the middle of this street is the orphan-house; in the lower part of which is the apothecary's shop, in the upper, the chapel, capable of containing six or seven hundred people. Another row of houses runs at a small distance from either end of the orphan-house, which accordingly divides the rest of the town (beside the long street) into two squares. At the east end of it is the Count's house, a small plain building like the rest; having a large garden behind it well laid out, not for show, but for the use of the community.

We had a convenient lodging assigned us, in the house appointed for strangers; and I had now abundant opportunity, of observing whether what I had heard was enlarged by the relators, or was neither more nor less than the naked truth.

I rejoiced to find Mr. Hermsdorf here, whom I had so often conversed with in Georgia; and there was nothing in his power which he did not do, to make our stay here useful and agreeable. About eight we went to the public service, at which they frequently use other instruments with their organ. They began, as usual, with singing: then followed the expounding, closed by a second hymn; prayer followed this; and then a few verses of a third hymn, which concluded the service.

Wednesday 2, At four in the afternoon was a love-feast of the married men, taking their food with gladness and singleness of heart, and with the voice of praise and thanksgiving.

Thursday 3, (and so every day at eleven), I was at the Bible Conference, wherein Mr. Miller, (late master of a great school in Zittau, till he left all to follow Christ), and several others, read together, as usual, a portion of Scripture in the original. At five was the conference for strangers, when several questions concerning justification were resolved. This evening Christian David came hither. O may God make him a messenger of glad tidings.

On Friday and Saturday (and so every day in the following week), I had much conversation with the most experienced of the brethren, concerning the great work which God had wrought in their souls, purifyin them by faith: and with Martin Dober, and the other teachers and elders of the church, concerning the discipline used therein.

Sunday 6, We went to church at Bertholdsdorf, a Lutheran village about an English mile from Hernhuth. Two large candles stood lighted upon the altar; the Last Supper was painted behind it; the pulpit was placed over it, and over that, a brass image of Christ on the cross.

The minister had on a sort of pudding-sleeve gown, which covered him all round. At nine began a long voluntary on the organ, closed with a hymn, which was sung by all the people sitting, in which posture, as is the German custom, they sung all that followed. Then the minister walked up to the altar, bowed, sung these Latin words,

Gloria in excelsis Deo; bowed again, and went away. This was followed by another hymn, sung as before, to the organ by all the people. Then the minister went to the altar again, bowed, sung a prayer, read the Epistle, and went away. After a third hymn was sung, he went a third time to the altar, sung a versicle, (to which all the people sung a response), read the third chapter to the Romans, and went away. The people having then sung the Creed in rhyme, he came and read the Gospel, all standing. Another hymn followed, which being ended, the minister in the pulpit used a long extemporary prayer, and afterwards preached an hour and a quarter on a verse of the Gospel. Then he read a long intercession and general thanksgiving, which before twelve concluded the service.

After the evening service at Hernhuth was ended, all the unmarried men (as is their custom) walked quite round the town, singing praise with instruments of music; and then on a small hill, at a little distance from it, casting themselves into a ring, joined in prayer. Thence they returned into the great square, and a little after eleven, commended each other to God.

Tuesday 8, A child was buried. The burying-ground (called by them *Gottes Acker*, i. e. God's ground) lies a few hundred yards out of the town, under the side of a little wood. There are distinct Squares in it for married men and unmarried; for married and unmarried women; for male and female children, and for widows. The corpse was carried from the chapel, the children walking first: next the orphan-father (so they call him who has the chief care of the orphan-house) with the minister of Bertholdsdorf; then four children bearing the corpse, and after them, Martin Dober and the father of the child. Then followed the men, and last of all the women and girls. They all sung as they went. Being come into the Square where the male-children are buried, the men stood on two sides of it. The boys on the third, and the women and girls on the fourth. There they sung again: After

which the Minister used (I think, read) a short prayer, and concluded with that blessing, "Unto God's gracious mercy and protection I commit you."

Seeing the father (a plain man, a Taylor by trade) looking at the grave, I asked, "How do you find yourself?" He said, "Praised be the Lord, never better. He has taken the soul of my child to himself. I have seen, according to my desire, his body committed to holy ground. And I know that when it is raised again, both he and I shall be ever with the Lord."

Several evenings this week I was with one or other of the private Bands. On Wednesday and Thursday I had an opportunity of talking with Michael Linner, the eldest of the church, and largely with Christian David, who, under God, was the first Planter of it.

Four times also I enjoyed the blessing of hearing him preach, during the few days I spent here: And every time he chose the very subject which I should have desired, had I spoken to him before. Thrice he described the state of those who are *Weak in Faith*, who are justified, but have not yet a new, clean heart; who have received forgiveness through the blood of Christ, but have not received the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. This state he explained once, from *Blessed are the poor in Spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven:* when he shewed at large from various scriptures, that many are children of God and heirs of the promises, long before their hearts are softened by holy *mourning*, before they are *comforted* by the abiding witness of the Spirit, melting their souls into all gentleness and *meekness;* and much more, before they are renewed in all that *righteousness*, which they *hungered and thirsted* after, before they are *pure in heart* from all self-will and sin, and *merciful* as their Father which is in heaven is merciful.

A second time he pointed out this state from those words, "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death! I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. There is therefore no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus." Hence also he at large both proved the existence,

and shewed the nature of that intermediate state, which most experience between that bondage which is described in the 7th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and the full glorious liberty of the children of God, described in the eighth, and in many other parts of Scripture.

This he yet again explained from the scriptures which describe the state the Apostles were in, from our Lord's death (and indeed for some time before) till the descent of the Holy Ghost at the day of Pentecost. They were then *clean*, as Christ himself had borne them witness, *by the word which he had spoken unto them.* They then *had faith*, otherwise he could not have prayed for them, that their *faith* might *not fail.* Yet they had not *new* hearts; neither had they received *the gift of the Holy Ghost.*

The fourth Sermon which he preached, concerning the ground of our Faith, made such an impression upon me, that when I went home, I could not but write down the substance of it, which was as follows:

"The word of Reconciliation which the Apostles preached, as the foundation of all they taught, was that 'we are reconciled to God, not by our own works, nor by our own righteousness, but wholly and solely by the blood of Christ.'

"But you will say, must I not grieve and mourn for my sins? Must I not humble myself before my God? Is not this just and right? And must I not first do this before I can expect God to be reconciled to me? I answer, it is just and right. You must be humbled before God. You must have a broken and contrite heart. But then observe, this is not your own work. Do you grieve that you are a sinner? This is the work of the Holy Ghost. Are you contrite? Are you humbled before God? Do you indeed mourn, and is your heart broken within you? All this worketh the self-same Spirit.

"Observe again, this is not the foundation. It is not this by which you are justified. This is not the righteousness, this is no part of the righteousness by which you are reconciled unto God. You grieve for your sins. You

are deeply humble. Your heart is broken. Well. But all this is nothing to your justification.* The remission of your sins is not owing to this cause, either in whole or in part. Nay, observe farther, that it *may* hinder your justification; that is, if you build any thing upon it; if you think, I must be *so or so* contrite. I must grieve *more*, before I can be justified. Understand this well. To think you must be *more* contrite, *more* humble, *more* grieved, *more* sensible of the weight of sin, before you can be justified; is, to lay your contrition, your grief, your humiliation for the foundation of your being justified: at least for a part of the foundation. Therefore it hinders your justification; and a hindrance it is which must be removed, before you can lay the right foundation. The right foundation is, not *your* contrition, (though that is not your *own*) not *your* righteousness, nothing of *your own:* Nothing that is wrought *in you* by the Holy Ghost; but it is something *without you*, viz. the righteousness and the blood of Christ.

"For this is the word, 'To him that believeth on God that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.' See ye not, that the foundation is nothing *in us?* There is no connexion between God and the ungodly. There is no tie to unite them. They are altogether separate from each other. They have nothing in common. There is nothing less or more in the ungodly, to join them to God. Works, righteousness, contrition? No. Ungodliness only. This then do, if you will lay a right foundation. Go straight to Christ with all your ungodliness. Tell him, Thou whose eyes are as a flame of fire searching my heart, seest that I am ungodly. I plead nothing else. I do not say, I am humble or contrite; but I am ungodly. Therefore bring me to him that justifieth the ungodly. Let thy blood be the propitiation for me; for there is nothing in me but ungodliness.

* This is not guarded. These things do not merit our justification, but they are absolutely necessary in order to it. God never pardons the impenitent.

"Here is a mystery. Here the wise men of the world are lost, are taken in their own craftiness. This the learned of the world cannot comprehend. It is foolishness unto them. Sin is the only thing which divides men from God. Sin (let him that heareth understand) is the only thing which unites them to God; *i. e.* the only thing which moves the Lamb of God to have compassion upon, and by his blood, to give them access to the Father.

"This is the *word of reconciliation* which we preach. This is the foundation which never can be moved. By faith we are built upon this foundation: and this faith also is the gift of God. It is his free gift, which he now and ever giveth to every one that is willing to receive it. And when they have received this gift of God, then their hearts will melt for sorrow that they have offended him. But this gift of God lives in the heart not in the head. The faith of the head, learned from men or books, is nothing worth. It brings neither remission of sins, nor peace with God. Labour then to believe with your whole heart. So shall you have redemption through the blood of Christ. So shall you be cleansed from all sin. So shall ye go on from strength to strength, being renewed day by day in righteousness and all true holiness."

Saturday 12, Was the Intercession-day, when many strangers were present, some of whom came twenty or thirty miles. I would gladly have spent my life here; but my master calling me to labour in another part of the vineyard, on Monday 14, I was constrained to take my leave of this happy place; Martin Dober, and a few others of the brethren, walking with us about an hour. O when shall *this* Christianity cover the earth, as the *waters cover the seas!*

To hear in what manner God *out of darkness commanded this light to shine*, must be agreeable to all those in every nation, who can testify from their own experience, *The gracious Lord hath so done his marvellous acts, that they ought to be had in remembrance.* I shall, therefore, here subjoin the substance of several conversations which I had at Hernhuth, chiefly on this subject. And may many

be incited hereby to give praise *unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever!*

It was on August 10 (Old Style) that I had an opportunity of spending some hours with Christian David. He is a carpenter by trade, more than middle-aged, though I believe not fifty yet. Most of his words I understood well; if at any time I did not, one of the brethren who went with me explained them in Latin. The substance of what he spoke, I immediately after wrote down; which was as follows:

"When I was young, I was much troubled at hearing some affirm, that the Pope was Antichrist. I read the Lutheran books written against the Papists, and the Popish books written against the Lutherans. I easily saw that the Papists were in the wrong; but not that the Lutherans were in the right. I could not understand what they meant, by being justified by faith, by faith alone, by faith without works. Neither did I like their talking so much of Christ. Then I began to think, How can Christ be the Son of God? But the more I reasoned with myself upon it, the more confused I was, till at last I loathed the very name of Christ. I could not bear to mention it. I hated the sound of it; and would never willingly have either read or heard it. In this temper I left Moravia, and wandered through many countries, seeking rest, but finding none.

In these wanderings I fell among some Jews. Their objections against the New Testament threw me into fresh doubts. At last I set myself to read over the Old Testament, and see if the prophecies therein contained were fulfilled. I was soon convinced they were. And thus much I gained: a fixt belief that Jesus was the Christ.

But soon after this, a new doubt arose: Are the New Testament prophecies fulfilled? This I next set myself to examine. I read them carefully over, and could not but see every event answered the prediction: So that the more I compared the one with the other, the more fully I was convinced that *all Scripture was given by Inspiration of God.*

Yet still my soul was not in peace: Nor indeed did I expect it, till I should have openly renounced the errors of

Popery: Which accordingly I did at Berlin. I now also led a very strict life. I read much, and prayed much. I did all I could to conquer sin, yet it profited not; I was still conquered by it. Neither found I any more rest among the Lutherans than I did before among the Papists.

At length, not knowing what to do, I listed myself a soldier. Now I thought I should have more time to pray and read, having with me a New Testament and a Hymn-book. But in one day both my books were stolen. This almost broke my heart. Finding also in this way of life all the inconveniencies which I thought to avoid by it, after six months I returned to my trade, and followed it two years. Removing then to Gorlitz in Saxony, I fell into a dangerous illness. I could not stir hand nor foot for twenty weeks. Pastor Sleder came to me every day. And from him it was, that the Gospel of Christ came first with power to my soul.

Here I found the peace I had long sought in vain; for I was assured *my* sins were forgiven. Not indeed all at once, but by degrees; not in one moment, nor in one hour. For I could not immediately believe, that I *was* forgiven, because of the mistake I was then in concerning forgiveness. I saw not then that the first promise to the children of God is, *Sin shall no more reign over you;* but thought, I was to *feel it in me* no more from the time it was forgiven. Therefore, although I had the mastery over it, yet I often feared it was not forgiven, because it still *stirred in me*, and at some times *thrust sore at me that I might fall:* Because though it did not *reign*, it did *remain* in me; and I was continually *tempted* though not *overcome*. This at that time threw me into many doubts; not understanding that the devil *tempts*, properly speaking, only those whom he perceives to be escaping from him. He need not tempt his own; for they *lie in the wicked one* (as St. John observes) and do his will with greediness. But those whom Christ is setting free, he tempts day and night, to see if he can recover them to his kingdom. Neither saw I then, that the *being justified*, is widely different from the having *the full assurance*

of faith. I remembered not that our Lord told his apostles before his death, *Ye are clean;* whereas it was not till many days after it that they were fully assured by the Holy Ghost then received, of their reconciliation to God, through his blood. The difference between these fruits of the Spirit, was as yet hid from me; so that I has hardly and slowly convinced I had the one, because I had not the other.

When I was recovered from my illness, I resolved to return into Moravia, and preach Christ to my relations there. Thence I came back to Gorlitz, where I continued five years, and there was a great awakening both in town and country round about. In this space I made two more journeys into Moravia, where more and more came to hear me, many of whom promised to come to me, wherever I was, when a door should be opened for them.

After my return from my third journey, Count Zinzendorf sent to Gorlitz, the minister of Bertholdsdorf being dead, for Mr. Rothe, who was in a gentleman's family there, to be minister of that place. Mr. Rothe told him of me, and he wrote to me, to come to him, and when I came, said, "Let as many as will of your friends come hither; I will give them land to build on, and Christ will give them the rest." I went immediately into Moravia and told them, God had now found out a place for us. Ten of them followed me then; ten more the next year; one more in my following journey. The Papists were now alarmed, set a price upon my head, and levelled the house I had lodged in, even with the ground. I made however eleven journeys thither in all, and conducted as many as desired it to this place, the way to which was now so well known, that many more came of themselves.

Eighteen years ago we built the first house. We chose to be near the great road rather than at Bertholdsdorf (for the Count gave us our choice) hoping we might thereby find opportunities of instructing some that travelled by us. In two years we were increased to 150; when I contracted an intimate acquaintance with a Calvinist, who, after some time brought me over to his opinion touching Election and

Reprobation: And by me were most of our brethren likewise brought over to the same opinions. About this time we were in great straits, wherewith many were much dejected. I endeavoured to comfort them with the sense of God's love towards them. But they answered, "Nay, it may be he hath no love towards us; it may be we are not of the Election; but God hated us from eternity, and therefore he hath suffered all these things to come upon us." The Count observing this, desired me to go to a neighbouring minister, Pastor Steinmetz, and talk with him fully on that head, "Whether Christ died for all?" I did so, and by him God fully convinced me of that important truth. And not long after, the Count desired we might all meet together, and consider these things throughly. We met accordingly at his house, and parted not for three days. We opened the Scriptures, and considered the account given therein, of the whole economy of God with man, from the creation to the consummation of all things, and by the blessing of God we came all to one mind; particularly in that fundamental point, that *He willeth all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of his truth.*

Sometime after, the Jesuits told the Emperor, that the Count was gathering together all the Moravians and Bohemians, forming them into one body, and making a new religion. Commissioners were immediately sent to Hernhuth, to examine the truth of this. The substance of the final answer returned through them to the Emperor was as follows:

An Extract of the public instrument signed at Hernhuth, in August, 1729.

1. We believe the Church of the Bohemian and Moravian brethren, from whom we are descended, to have been a holy and undefiled Church, as owned by Luther and all other Protestant Divines: who own also that our doctrine agrees with theirs; but our discipline they have not.

2. But we do not rest upon the holiness of our ancestors: it being our continual care, to shew that we are passed from

death unto life, by worshipping God in spirit and in truth. Nor do we count any man a brother, unless he has either preserved inviolate the covenant he made with God in baptism, or, if he has broken it, been born again of God.

3. On the other side, whosoever they are, who being sprinkled by the blood of Christ, are sanctified through faith, we receive them as brethren, although in some points they may differ from us. Not that we can renounce or give up any doctrine of God, contained in Holy Writ; the least part of which is dearer unto us, than thousands of gold and silver.

4. Discipline we judge to be necessary in the highest degree, for all those who have any knowledge of divine truth: and we can therefore in no wise forsake that, which we have received from our forefathers. Yet if it should ever be (which God forbid) that any of us should speak or act perverse things, we could only say, with St. John, *They went forth from us, but were not of us: For if they had been* of us, *they would have continued with us.*

5. The public worship of God at Bertholdsdorf, which we have hitherto frequented, we are the less able now to forsake, because we have there an assembly of true believers, a doctrine free from error, and a pastor who *having laboured much in the Word, is worthy of double honour.* Therefore we have no cause to form any congregation, separate from this: especially seeing we both use that liberty which Christ hath purchased for us; and so often experience the power of the doctrine which is taught here, and agree with the Evangelical Protestants (i.e. Lutherans) in all truths of importance. As for the controverted points, which require a subtile wit, we either are ignorant of them, or despise them.

6. The name of brethren and sisters we do not reject, as being agreeable both to Scripture and to Christian simplicity. But we do not approve of being called by the name of any man: as knowing, *We have one Father, even Him which is in heaven.*

In 1732 we were again required to give an account of ourselves. This was then done in the manner following:

An Extract of the Letter wrote by the Church of Hernhuth, to the President of Upper Lusatia, January 24th, 1732.

'1. NONE can be ignorant of the religion of our ancestors who have read the history of John Huss. Some of his followers endeavoured to repel force by force. The rest, having better learned Christ, obtained leave of George Podibrad, king of Bohemia, to retire and live apart. Retiring accordingly, in the year 1453, to a place on the borders of Silesia and Moravia, they lived in peace till the time of Luther and Calvin, with both of whom, as with their followers, they maintained a friendly intercourse, especially when, by the providence of God, they were placed among those of either opinion.

'2. In the year 1699, David Ernest Jablonsky, grandson to Amos Comenius, the last bishop of the Moravians, was consecrated bishop of the United Brethren in Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland, in a synod regularly assembled. To him Count Zinzendorf signified, that several of the Moravian Brethren, having escaped from the tyranny of the Papists, were so joined to the Lutherans, whose doctrine they approved, as nevertheless to retain their antient discipline. His entire approbation of this, Bishop Jablonsky testified to the Count in several letters.

'3. It must be acknowledged, that many of our ancestors, about the beginning of the Reformation, from fear of man, did not openly confess the truth. And hence it was that the Romish pastors bore with them, being little concerned what their private opinions were. But hence it also was, that continually using dissimulation, and not walking in simplicity, they were no longer fervent in spirit, as of old time, neither could they find any peace to their souls.

'4. It was in the year 1715, that a soldier of the Emperor's, lately discharged, came to Sehl, a village of which the Jesuits are lords, and began to talk with Augustin

Neusser and his brother. He sharply reproved their hypocrisy, in pretending to be Romanists, and dissembling the true faith. Yet they *conferred with flesh and blood*, till the year 1722, when at length they forsook all, and retired into Upper Lusatia. They left three brothers behind them, who were soon after cast into prison, and grievously persecuted by the Papists; so that, as soon as ever a door was opened, they also left all, and followed their brothers into Lusatia: the same did many others soon after, as finding no safety, either for body or soul, in their own country: whence about the same time, Michael and Martin Linner, and the Haberlands, were driven out, with their families, after having suffered the loss of all things, for not conforming to the Romish worship, and for receiving those they called hereticks into their houses.

'5. But the brethren at Kuhnewald were treated with still greater severity. All their books were taken away; they were compelled by the most exquisite torments, to conform to the popish superstitions and idolatries; and in the end, cast into, and kept in, the most loathsome prisons; whereby David Schneider, the Nitschmans, and many others, were constrained also to leave their country, and all that they had. These are the plain reasons of our leaving Moravia, of which your Excellency desired an account from us.'

In the mean time we found a great remissness of behaviour had crept in among us. And indeed the same was to be found in most of those round about us, whether Lutherans or Calvinists, so insisting on faith, as to forget, at least in practice, both holiness and good works.

Observing this terrible abuse of preaching Christ *given for us*, we began to insist more than ever, on Christ *living in us*. All our exhortations and preaching turned on this: we spoke, we wrote of nothing else. Our constant enquiries were, 'Is Christ formed *in you*? Have you a new heart? Is your soul renewed in the image of God? Is the whole body of sin destroyed in you? Are you fully as-

sured, beyond all doubt or fear, that you are a child of God? In what manner and at what moment did you receive that full assurance?' If a man could not answer all these questions, we judged he had no true faith. Nor would we permit any to receive the Lord's Supper among us, till he could.

In this persuasion we were, when I went to Greenland, five years ago. There I had a correspondence by letter with a Danish minister, on the head of justification. And it pleased God to shew me by him, (though he was by no means a holy man, but openly guilty of gross sins), that we had now leaned too much to this hand, and were run into another extreme: that Christ *in us*, and Christ *for us*, ought indeed to be both insisted on; but first and principally Christ *for us*, as being the ground of all. I now clearly saw, we ought not to insist on any thing we *feel*, any more than any thing we *do*, as if it were necessary previous to justification, or the remission of sins. I saw, that least of all ought we so to insist on the full assurance of faith, or the destruction of the body of sin, and the extinction of all its motions; as to exclude those, who had not attained this, from the Lord's table, or to deny that they had any faith at all. I plainly perceived, this full assurance was a distinct gift from justifying faith, and often not given till long after it: and that justification does not imply, that sin should not *stir* in us, but only that it should not *conquer*.

And now first it was, that I had that full assurance of my own reconciliation to God, through Christ. For many years I had had the forgiveness of my sins, and a measure of the peace of God; but I had not till now, that witness of his Spirit, which shuts out all doubt and fear. In all my trials I had always a confidence in Christ, who had done so great things for me. But it was a confidence mixt with fear: I was afraid *I had not done enough*. There was always something dark in my soul till now. But now the clear light shined: and I saw that what I had hitherto so constantly insisted on, the *doing* so much and *feeling* so

much, the long repentance and preparation for believing, the bitter sorrow for sin, and that deep contrition of heart which is found in some, were by no means essential to justification. Yea, that wherever the free grace of God is rightly preached, a sinner in the full career of his sins, will probably receive it, and be justified by it, before one who insists on such previous preparation.

At my return to Hernhuth, I found it difficult at first, to make my brethren sensible of this, or to persuade them not to insist on the assurance of faith, as a necessary qualification for receiving the Lord's Supper. But from the time they were convinced, which is now three years since, we have all chiefly insisted on Christ *given for us:* this we urge as the principal thing, which if we rightly believe, Christ will surely be *formed in us.* And this preaching we have always found to be accompanied with power, and to have the blessing of God following it. By this, believers receive a steady purpose of heart, and a more unshaken resolution, to endure with a free and cheerful spirit whatsoever our Lord is pleased to lay upon them."

The same day I was with Michael Linner, the eldest of the church; the sum of whose conversation was this:

"The church of Moravia was once a glorious church. But it is now covered with thick darkness. It is about sixteen years ago, that I began to seek for light. I had a New Testament which I constantly read: upon which I often said to myself, 'This says, I ought to be humble, and meek, and pure in heart. How comes it that I am not so?' I went to the best men I knew, and asked, 'Is not this the word of God? And if so, ought I not to be such as this requires, both in heart and life?' They answered, 'The first Christians indeed were such; but it is impossible for *us* to be so perfect.' This answer gave me no satisfaction. I knew God could not mock his creatures, by requiring of them what he saw it is impossible for them to perform. I asked others, but had still the same answer, which troubled me more and more.

"About fourteen years ago, I was more than ever convinced, that I was wholly different from what God required me to be. I consulted his Word again and again; but it spoke nothing but condemnation; till at last I could not read, nor indeed do any thing else, having no hope and no spirit left in me. I had been in this state for several days, when being musing by myself, those words came strongly into my mind, *God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that all who believe in him, should not perish but have everlasting life.* I thought, '*All?* Then I am one. Then he is given for *me*. But I am a sinner. And he came to save sinners.' Immediately my burden dropped off, and my heart was at rest.

"But the full assurance of faith I had not yet; nor for the two years I continued in Moravia. When I was driven out thence by the Jesuits, I retired hither, and was soon after received into the Church. And here, after some time, it pleased our Lord to manifest himself more clearly to my soul, and give me that full sense of acceptance in Him, which excludes all doubt and fear.

"Indeed the leading of the Spirit is different in different souls. His more usual method, I believe, is to give in one and the same moment the forgiveness of sins, and a full assurance of that forgiveness. Yet in many he works as he did in me: giving first the remission of sins, and after some weeks, or months, or years, the full assurance of it."

This great truth was farther confirmed to me the next day by the conversation I had with David Nitschman, one of the teachers or pastors of the Church; who expressed himself to this effect:

"In my childhood I was very serious; but as I grew up, was so careless, that at eighteen years old, I had even forgot to read. When I found this, I was startled. I soon learned again, and then spent much time in reading and prayer. But I knew nothing of my heart, till about the age of twenty-six. I bought a Bible, and began to read the New Testament. The farther I read, the more I was

condemned. I found a law which I did not, could not keep. I had a will to avoid all sin: but the power I had not. I continually strove; but was continually conquered. The thing which *I would, I did not;* but what I *would* not have done, that I did. In this bondage I was, when I fell into a fit of sickness; during my recovery from which, I felt a stronger desire than ever to avoid all sin. At the same time I felt the power. And sin no longer reigned over me.

"But soon after, I fell into grievous temptations, which made me very uneasy. For though I yielded not to them, yet they returned again and again, as fast as they were conquered. Then it came into my mind, 'I take all this pains to serve God. What if there be no God? How do I know there is?' And on this I mused more and more, till I said in my heart, 'There is no God!'

"In this state I was when I came to Hernhuth, about fourteen years ago. And every day for a full year, from morning to night, I groaned under this unbelief. Yet I prayed continually, unbelieving as I was; particularly one Sunday, when being in the church of Bertholdsdorf, and quite weary of hearing so much of Him, whose very being I did not believe, I vehemently said, 'O God, if thou be a God, thou must manifest thyself, or I cannot believe it.' In walking home, I thought of an expression of Pastor Rothe's, 'Only *suppose* these things are so: *suppose* there be a God.' I said to myself, 'Well, I will, I *do* suppose it.' Immediately I felt a strange sweetness in my soul, which increased every moment till the next morning: and from that time, if all the men upon earth, and all the devils in hell had joined in denying it, I could not have doubted the Being of a God, no, not for one moment. This first sweetness lasted for six weeks, without any intermission.

"I then fell into doubts of another kind. I believed in God; but not in Christ. I opened my heart to Martin Dober, who used many arguments with me, but in vain. For above four years, I found no rest, by reason of this

unbelief: till one day, as I was sitting in my house, despairing of any relief, those words shot into me, 'God *was in* Christ, *reconciling the world to himself*.'' I thought, "Then God and Christ are one." Immediately my heart was filled with joy; and much more at the remembrance of these words which I now felt I *did believe*, *The Word was with God, and the Word was God. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.*

"Yet in a few days I was troubled again. I believed Christ was the Saviour of the world. But I could not call him *my* Saviour, neither did I believe He would save *me*. And one day, as I was walking across the square, that text came strongly into my mind, *The unbelieving shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone*. I returned home, terrified beyond expression, and instantly began crying out to our Saviour, telling him, 'I deserved no less than hell, and gave myself up, if it were his will, to suffer what I had deserved.' In a moment I found a gleam of hope, that He *would* have mercy even on me.

"But this, in a short time, vanished away, and my uneasiness returned again. Many endeavoured to persuade me that I had, but I knew I had not, a right faith in Christ. For I had no confidence in Him: nor could I lay hold upon him as *my* Saviour. Indeed, reading one day, (in Arndt's True Christianity), 'That if all the sins of all the men upon earth were joined in one man, the blood of Christ was sufficient to cleanse that man from all sin:' I felt for a time comfort and peace: but it was but for a time, and then I was overwhelmed as before with sadness and unbelief. And I was opprest almost beyond my strength, when * a

* N. B. i. e. In the year 1737. Several years before which, he was elected one of the four public Teachers of the Church; which office he retains to this day. Now, which of the two consequences will you choose, (for one or the other is unavoidable), either that a man may preach the Gospel (yea, and with the demonstration of the Spirit), who has no faith: Or that a man who has a degree of true faith, may yet have doubts and fears?

year ago, I went into this little wood. At first I was tempted to break out into impatience; but then I thought, our Saviour knows best: nor would he suffer this trouble to continue so long, if he did not see it was good for me. I delivered myself wholly into his hands, to dispose of me according to his good pleasure. In that hour I saw, that all who believe in Him, are reconciled to God through his blood, and was assured, that I was thereby reconciled, and numbered among the children of God. And from that hour, I have had no doubt, or fear, but all peace and joy in believing."

Some of the circumstances of this uncommon relation, were made more clear to me, by the account I received in the afternoon from a student at Hernhuth, Albinus Theodorus Feder.

"I, said he, for three years fought against sin with all my might, by fasting and prayer, and all the other means of grace. But notwithstanding all my endeavours, I gained no ground: sin still prevailed over me; till at last, not knowing what to do farther, I was on the very brink of despair. Then it was that having no other refuge left, I fled to my Saviour as one lost and undone, and that had no hope, but in his power and free mercy. In that moment I found my heart at rest, in good hope that my sins were forgiven; of which I had a stronger assurance six weeks after, when I received the Lord's Supper here. But I dare not affirm, I am a child of God; neither have I the seal of the Spirit. Yet I go on quietly, doing my Saviour's will, taking shelter in his wounds, from all trouble and sin, and knowing he will perfect his work in his own time.

"Martin Dober, when I described my state to him, said, He had known very many believers, who, if asked the question, would not have dared to affirm, that they were the children of God. And he added, It is very common for persons to receive remission of sins, or justification through faith in the blood of Christ, before they receive

the full assurance of faith, which God many times withholds, till he has tried whether they will work together with him, in the use of the first gift. Nor is there any need (continued he, Dober) to incite any one to seek that assurance, by telling him, the faith he has is nothing. This will be more likely to drive him to despair, than to encourage him to press forward. His single business, who has received the first gift is, *credendo credere & in credendo perseverare*, (to believe on, and to hold fast that whereunto he hath attained), to go on doing his Lord's will, according to the ability God hath already given; cheerfully and faithfully to use what he has received, without solicitude for the rest."

In the conversation I afterwards had with Augustine Neusser, a knife-smith, (another of the pastors or teachers of the church, about sixty years of age), as also with his brothers, Wensel, and Hantz Neusser, the nature of true faith and salvation was yet farther explained to me.

Augustine Neusser spoke to this effect:

"By experience I know, that we cannot be justified through the blood of Christ, till we feel that all our righteousness and good works avail nothing towards our justification. Therefore, what men call *a good life*, is commonly the greatest of all hindrances to their coming to Christ. For it will not let them see that they are lost, undone sinners; and if they see not this, they cannot come to him. Thus it was with me. I led a good life from a child. And this was the great hindrance to my coming to Christ. For, abounding in good works, and diligently using all the means of grace, I persuaded myself for thirteen or fourteen years, that all was well, and I could not fail of salvation. And yet, I cannot say, my soul was at rest, even till the time when God shewed me clearly, that my heart was as corrupt, notwithstanding all my good works, as that of an adulterer or murderer. Then my self-dependence withered away. I wanted a Saviour, and fled naked to him. And in him I found true rest to my soul,

being fully assured, that all *my* sins were forgiven. Yet I cannot tell the hour or day, when I first received that full assurance. For it was not given me at first, neither at once; but grew up in me by degrees. But from the time it was confirmed in me, I have never lost it; having never since doubted, no, not for a moment."

What Wensel Neusser said, was as follows:

"From a child I had many fits of seriousness, and was often uneasy at my sins: this uneasiness was much increased about fifteen years since by the preaching of Christian David. I thought the way to get ease was, to go and live among the Lutherans, whom I supposed to be all good Christians. But I soon found they, as well as the Papists, were carnal, worldly-minded men. About thirteen years ago I came from among them to Hernhuth; but was still as uneasy as before: which I do not wonder at now, though I did then, for all this time, though I saw clearly I could not be saved but by the death of Christ, yet I did not trust in that *only* for salvation, but depended on my own righteousness *also*, as the joint condition of my acceptance.

"After I was settled here, seeing the great diversity of sects wherewith we were surrounded, I began to doubt whether any religion was true. For half a year these doubts perplexed me greatly; and I was often just on the point of casting off all religion, and returning to the world. The fear of doing this threw me into a deeper concern than ever I had been in before. Nor could I find how to escape, for the more I struggled, the more I was entangled. I often reflected on my former course of life, as more desirable than this. And one day, in the bitterness of my soul, besought our blessed Saviour, 'At least to restore me to that state which I was in before I left Moravia.' In that moment he manifested himself to me, so that I could lay hold on him as my Saviour, and shewed me, it is *only* the blood of Christ which cleanseth us from all sin. This was ten years since, and from that hour, I have not had one doubt of my acceptance. Yet I have not any transports of joy. Nor

had I when he thus revealed himself unto me. Only I well remember, that manifestation of himself was like a cool refreshing wind, to one that is fainting away with sultry heat. And ever since, my soul has been sweetly at rest, desiring no other portion in earth or heaven."

"I was awakened (said Hantz Neusser) by my grandfather when a child, and by him carefully instructed in the New Testament. I married young, and being from that time weak and sickly, was the more earnest to work out my salvation: And nineteen or twenty years ago, I had a strong confidence in our Saviour, and was continually warning others against trusting in themselves, in their own righteousness, or good works. Yet I was not free from it myself. I did not trust in Him *only* for acceptance with God; and hence it was, that not building on the right foundation, the blood and righteousness of Christ alone, I could not gain a full victory over my sins, but sometimes conquered them, and sometimes was conquered by them. And therefore I had not a full or constant peace, though I was commonly easy, and hoping for mercy.

"Sixteen years ago I came to my brother Augustine at Hernhuth. There was then only one little house here. Here I continued eight years in much the same state, thinking I trusted in Christ alone; but indeed trusting partly in his and partly in my own righteousness. I was walking one day in this little wood, when God discovered my heart to me. I saw I had till that hour trusted in my own righteousness, and at the same time, that I had no righteousness at all, being altogether corrupt and abominable, and fit only for the fire of hell. At this sight, I fell into bitter grief, and an horrible dread overwhelmed me, expecting nothing (as I saw I deserved nothing else) but to be swallowed up in a moment. In that moment I beheld the Lamb of God taking away my sins. And from that time, I have had redemption through his blood, and full assurance of it. I have that peace in him which never fails, and which admits of no doubt or fear. Indeed I am but a little one in Christ; therefore I can re-

ceive as yet but little of him. But from his fullness I have enough; and I praise him, and am satisfied."

In the three or four following days I had an opportunity of talking with Zacharias Neusser (cousin to Hantz), David Schneider, Christopher Demuth, Arvid Gradin (now at Constantinople), and several others of the most experienced brethren. I believe no preface is needful to the account they gave of God's dealings with their souls, which I doubt not will stir up many, through his grace, to *glorify their Father which is in heaven.*

"I was born (said Zacharias Neusser) on the borders of Moravia, and was first awakened by my cousin Wensel, who soon after carried me to hear Mr. Steinmetz, a Lutheran minister, about thirty English miles off. I was utterly astonished. The next week I went again: after which, going to him in private, I opened my heart, and told him all my doubts, those especially concerning Popery. He offered to receive me into communion with him, which I gladly accepted of; and in a short time after, I received the Lord's Supper from his hands. While I was receiving I felt Christ had died for *me*. I knew I was reconciled to God; and all the day I was overwhelmed with joy, having these words continually on my mind, *This day is salvation come to my house:* I *also* am a son *of Abraham.* This joy I had continually for a year and a half, and my heart was full of love to Christ.

"After this I had thoughts of leaving Moravia. I was convinced it would be better for my soul. Yet I would not do it, because I got more money there than I could elsewhere. When I reflected on this, I said to myself, 'This is mere covetousness; but if I am covetous, I am not a child of God.' Hence I fell into a deep perplexity, nor could I find any way to escape out of it. In this slavery and misery I was for five years; at the end of which I fell sick: In my sickness my heart was set at liberty, and peace returned to my soul. I now prayed earnestly to God to restore my health, that I might leave Moravia.

He did restore it, and I immediately removed to Hernhuth. After I had been here a quarter of a year, the Count preached one day upon the Nature of Sanctification. I found I had not experienced what he described, and was greatly terrified. I went to my cousin Wensel, who advised me to read over the 3d, 4th, and 5th chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. I did so. I had read them an hundred times before, yet now they appeared quite new, and gave me such a sight of God's justifying the ungodly as I never had before. On Sunday I went to church at Bertholdsdorf, and while we were singing those words, *Wer glauben auch in Jesum Christ*, (We believe also in Jesus Christ,) I clearly saw him as my Saviour. I wanted immediately to be alone, and to pour out my heart before him. My soul was filled with thankfulness, and with a still, soft, quiet joy, such as it is impossible to express. I had full assurance that *my Beloved was mine, and I was his*, which has never ceased to this day. I see by a clear light what is pleasing to him, and I do it continually in love. I receive daily from him peace and joy, and I have nothing to do but to praise him."

The most material part of David Schneider's account was this:

"Both my father and mother feared God, and carefully instructed me in the Holy Scriptures. I was from a child earnestly desirous to follow their instructions, and more so after my father's death. Yet as I grew up, many sins got the dominion over me: of which God began to give me a sense, by the preaching of Pastor Steinmetz: who speaking one day of drunkenness to which I was then addicted, I was so grieved and ashamed that for several days I could not bear to look any one in the face. It pleased God afterwards to give me, though not all at once, a sense of my other both outward and inward sins. And before the time of my coming out of Moravia, I knew that my sins were forgiven. Yet I cannot fix upon any particular time when I knew this first. For I did not clearly know it at once:

God having always done every thing in my soul by degrees.

"When I was about twenty-six, I was pressed in spirit to exhort and instruct my brethren. Accordingly many of them met at my house, to read, pray, and sing psalms. They usually came about ten or eleven, and stayed till one or two in the morning. When Christian David came to us, we were much quickened and comforted, and our number greatly increased. We were undisturbed for two years. But then the Papists were informed of our meeting. Immediately search was made. All our books were seized, and we were ordered to appear before the Consistory. I was examined many times; was imprisoned, released and imprisoned again five times in one year. At last I was adjudged to pay fifty Rix-dollars, and suffer a year's imprisonment. But upon a re-hearing, the sentence was changed, and I was ordered to the Gallies. Before this sentence was executed, I escaped out of prison, and came to Sorau in Silesia. Many of my brethren followed me, and here for near ten years I taught the children of the Orphan-House. I soon sent for my wife and children. But the Magistrates had just then ordered, that the wives and children of all those who had fled, should be taken into safe custody. The night before this order was to be executed, she escaped and came to Sorau.

"Soon after, some of my brethren who had been there, pressed me much to remove to Hernhuth: Christian David, in particular, by whose continued importunity, I was at length brought to resolve upon it. But all my brethren at Sorau were still as strongly against it, as I myself had formerly been. For a whole year I was struggling to break from them, or to persuade them to go too. And it cost me more pains to get away from Sorau, than it had done to leave Moravia.

"At length I broke loose and came to Hernhuth, which was about three years ago. Finding I could scarce subsist my family here by hard labour, whereas at Sorau all things were provided for me, I grew very uneasy. The more

uneasy I was, the more my brethren refrained from my company;* so that in a short time I was left quite alone. Then I was in deep distress indeed. Sin revived and almost got the mastery over me. I tried all ways, but found no help. In this miserable state I was about a year ago, when the brethren cast lots concerning me, and were thereby directed to admit me to the Lord's table. And from that hour my soul received comfort, and I was more and more assured that I had an Advocate with the Father, and that I was fully reconciled to God by his blood."

Christopher Demuth spoke to this effect:

"My father was a pious man from his youth. He carefully instructed all his children. I was about fifteen when he died. A little before he died, having been all his lifetime under the Law, he received at once remission of sins, and the full witness of the Spirit. He called us to him and said, 'My dear children, let your whole trust be in the blood of Christ. Seek salvation in this, and in this alone, and he will shew you the same mercy he has to me. Yea, and he will shew it to many of your relations and acquaintance, when his time is come.'

"From this time till I was twenty-seven years old, I was more and more zealous in seeking Christ. I then removed into Silesia, and married. A year after I was much pressed in spirit, to return and visit my brethren in Moravia. I did so. We had the New Testament, our Moravian hymns, and two or three Lutheran books. We read, and sung, and prayed together, and were much strengthened. One day as we were together at my house, one knocked at the door: I opened it, and it was a Jesuit. He said, 'My dear Demuth, I know you are a good man, and one that instructs and exhorts your friends. I must see what books you have.' And going into the inner room, he found the Testament and the rest together. He took them all away; nor did we dare to hinder him. The next day we were

* This was utterly wrong.

summoned before the Consistory, and after a long examination, ordered to appear at the church before the congregation on the following Sunday. There they read a long confession of faith, and afterwards bid us say, 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' We did so, though not knowing what they meant. They then told us, 'We had abjured the Lutheran errors, and called the blessed Trinity to witness, that we assented to that confession of faith.' My heart sunk within me when I heard it. I went home, but could find no rest. I thought I had now denied my Saviour, and could expect no more mercy from him. I could not bear to stay in Moravia any longer, but immediately returned into Silesia. There I continued six years, but there too I was perpetually terrified with the thoughts of what I had done. I often enquired after my brethren whom I had left in Moravia. Some of them I heard were thrown into prison, and others escaped to a little village in Lusatia, called Hernhuth. I wished I could go to that place myself, and at last meeting with one who had the same desire, we agreed to go together. But our design being discovered, he was apprehended and thrown into prison. Expecting the same treatment, I earnestly prayed, 'That God would shew me a token for good.' Immediately my soul was filled with joy, and I was ready to go to prison or to death.

"Two days passed, and no man asked me any question; when doubting, what I ought to do, I went into a neighbouring wood, and going into a little cave, fell on my face and prayed, 'Lord, thou seest I am ready to do what thou wilt. If it be thy will I should be cast into prison, thy will be done. If it be thy will that I should leave my wife and children, I am ready. Only shew me thy will.' Immediately I heard a loud voice saying, '*Fort, fort, fort*' (Go on, go on) I rose joyful and satisfied; went home and told my wife, 'It was God's will I should now leave her; but that I hoped to return in a short time, and take her and my children with me.' I went out of the door, and in that moment was filled with peace, and joy, and comfort.

"We had above two hundred miles to go (thirty-five German) and neither I, nor my friend who went with me, had one *Kreutzer*.* But God provided things convenient for us, so that in all the way we wanted nothing.

"In this journey God gave me full assurance that my sins were forgiven. This was twelve years ago, and ever since, it has been confirmed more and more, by my receiving from him every day fresh supplies of strength and comfort.

"By comparing my experience with that of others, you may perceive, how different ways God leads different souls. But though a man should be led in a way different from that of all other men, yet if his eye be at all times fixed on his Saviour, if his constant aim be to do his will; if all his desires tend to him; if in all trials, he can draw strength from him; if he flee to him in all troubles, and in all temptations find salvation in his blood; in this there can be no delusion: And whosoever is thus minded, however or whenever it began, is surely reconciled to God through his Son."

Arvid Gradin (a Swede, born in Dalecarlia) spoke to this purpose:

"Before I was ten years old, I had a serious sense of religion, and great fervour in prayer. This was increased by my reading much in the New Testament; but the more I read, the more earnestly I cried out, 'Either these things are not true, or we are not Christians.' About sixteen my sense of religion began to decline, by my too great fondness for learning, especially for the Oriental Tongues, wherein I was instructed by a private Preceptor, who likewise did all that in him lay to instruct me in true Divinity.

"At seventeen I went to the University of Upsal, and a year or two after was licensed to preach. But at twenty-two, meeting with Arndt's True Christianity, I found I

* A small coin of about a halfpenny value.

myself was not a Christian. Immediately I left off preaching, and betook myself wholly to Philosophy. This stifled all my convictions for some years; but when I was about twenty-seven, they revived, and continued the year after, when I was desired to be domestic Tutor to the children of the Secretary of State. I now felt I was *carnal, sold under sin*, and continually struggled to burst the bonds, till (being about thirty-one years old) I was unawares entangled in much worldly business. This cooled me in my pursuit of holiness: Yet for a year and a half my heart was never at peace. Being then in a bookseller's shop, I saw the account of the Church at Hernhuth. I did not think there could be any such place, and asked the bookseller, if that was a real account? His answer, 'That it was no more than the plain truth,' threw me into deep thought, and fervent prayer, that God would bring me to that place. I went to the Secretary, and told him, 'I did not design to stay at Upsal, having a desire to travel.' He said, 'He had a desire his son should travel, and was glad of an opportunity to send him with me.' I was grieved, but knew not how to refuse any thing to my patron and benefactor. Accordingly we left Upsal together, and after a year spent in several parts of Germany, went through Holland into France, and so to Paris, where we spent another year. But I was more and more uneasy till I could be disengaged from my charge, that I might retire to Hernhuth. In our return from France, my pupil's elder brother returning from Italy, met us at Leipsig. I immediately wrote to his father, and having obtained his consent, delivered him into his hands.

"April 23, 1738. (N. S.) I came hither. Here I was as in another world. I desired nothing but to be cleansed inwardly and outwardly from sin, by the blood of Jesus Christ. I found all here laying the same foundation. Therefore, though I did not think with them in all points of doctrine, I waved these, and singly pursued reconciliation with God through Christ.

"On the 22d of May last, I could think of nothing but, *He that believeth, hath everlasting life.* But I was afraid of deceiving myself, and continually prayed I might not build without a foundation. Yet I had a sweet, settled peace, and for five days this scripture was always in my thoughts. On the 28th, those words of our Lord were as strongly impressed upon me, *If ye being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Ghost to them that ask him.* At the same time I was incessantly carried out, to ask, that he would give me the witness of his Spirit. On the 29th I had what I asked of him, viz. the πληροφορια πιστεως, which is,

"'*Requies in sanguine Christi. Firma fiducia in Deum, & persuasio de gratia divina; tranquillitas mentis summa, atque serenitas & pax; cum absentia omnis desiderii carnalis, & cessatione peccatorum etiam internorum. Verbo, Cor quod antea instar maris turbulenti agitabitur, in summa fuit requie, instar maris sereni & tranquilli.*

"'Repose in the blood of Christ. A firm confidence in God, and persuasion of his favour: Serene peace and steadfast tranquillity of mind, with a deliverance from every fleshly desire, and from every outward and inward sin. In a word, my heart which before was tossed like a troubled sea, was still and quiet, and in a sweet calm.'"

In the present discipline of the church of Hernhuth, all which is alterable at the discretion of the Superiors, may be observed,

I. The Officers of it.

II. The Division of the People.

III. The Conferences, Lectures, and Government of the Children.

IV. The Order of Divine Service.

1. The Officers are, 1. The *Eldest* of the whole church; beside whom, there is an Eldest of every particular branch of it. There is also a distinct Eldest over the young men, and another over the boys; a female Eldest over the women

in general, and another over the unmarried, and another over the girls. 2. The *Teachers*, who are four. 3. The *Helpers* (or *Deacons*.) 4. The *Overseers* (or *Censors*) eleven in number at Hernhuth. 5. The *Monitors*, who are eleven likewise. 6. The *Almoners*, eleven also. 7. The *Attenders* on the sick, seven in number. Lastly, the *Servants*, or Deacons of the lowest order.

II. The people of Hernhuth are divided, 1. Into five male classes, viz. the little children, the middle children, the big children, the young men, and the married. The females are divided in the same manner. 2. Into eleven classes, according to the houses where they live; and in each class is an Helper, an Overseer, a Monitor, an Almoner and a Servant. 3. Into about ninety Bands, each of which meets twice at least, but most of them three times a-week, To *confess their faults one to another, and pray for one another, that they may be healed.*

III. The Rulers of the Church, *i. e.* The Elders, Teachers, Helpers, (all chosen by the congregation) have a conference every week, purely concerning the state of souls, and another concerning the institution of youth. Beside which they have one every day, concerning outward things relating to the Church.

The Overseers, the Monitors, the Almoners, the Attenders on the sick, the Servants, the School-masters, the young men, and the children, have likewise each a conference once a week relating to their several offices and duties.

Once a week also is a conference for strangers; at which any person may be present, and propose any question or doubt, which he desires to have resolved.

In Hernhuth is taught Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, English, History, and Geography.

There is a Latin, French, and an English Lecture every day, as well as an Historical and Geographical one. On Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday is the Hebrew Lecture; the Greek on Tuesday and Thursday.

In the Orphan-House, the elder children rise at five, the smaller, between five and six. After a little private prayer they work till seven. Then they are at school till eight, the hour of prayer. At nine those who are capable of it learn Latin, at ten French. At eleven they walk. At twelve they dine all together, and walk till one. At one they work or learn Writing; at three Arithmetic; at four History, at five they work; at six sup and work; at seven, after a time spent in prayer, walk; at eight the younger children go to bed, the elder to the public service. When this is ended, they work again, till, at ten, they go to bed.

IV. Every morning at eight is singing and exposition of Scripture; and commonly a short prayer.

At eight in the evening, there is commonly only mental prayer, joined with the singing and expounding.

The faithful afterwards spend a quarter of an hour in prayer, and conclude with the kiss of peace.

On Sunday morning the service begins at six; at nine the public service at Bertholdsdorf. At one the eldest gives separate exhortations to all the members of the Church, divided into fourteen little classes for that purpose, spending about a quarter of an hour with each class. At four begins the evening service at Bertholdsdorf, closed by a conference in the Church. At eight is the usual service; after which the young men, singing praise round the town, conclude the day.

On the first Saturday in the month, the Lord's Supper is administered. From ten in the morning till two, the Eldest speaks with each communicant in private, concerning the state of his soul. At two they dine; then wash one another's feet, after which they sing and pray. About ten they receive in silence without any ceremony, and continue in silence till they part at twelve.

On the second Saturday is the solemn prayer-day for the children: The third is the day of general Intercession and Thanksgiving: And on the fourth is the great monthly conference of all the Superiors of the Church.

For the satisfaction of those who desire a more full account, I have added,

An Extract of the Constitution of the Church of the Moravian Brethren at Hernhuth, laid before the Theological Order at Wirtemberg, in the year 1733.

1. They have a *Senior*, or *Eldest*, who is to assist the Church by his counsel and prayers, and to determine what shall be done in matters of importance. Of him is required, that he be well experienced in the things of God, and witnessed to by all for holiness of conversation.

2. They have *Deacons*, or *Helpers*, who are in the private assemblies, to instruct: To take care that outward things be done decently and in order; and to see that every member of the Church grows in grace, and walks suitably to his holy calling.

3. The *Pastor*, or *Teacher* is to be an overseer of the whole flock, and every person therein; to baptize the children; diligently to form their minds, and bring them up *in the nurture and admonition of the Lord:* When he finds in them a sincere love of the cross, then to receive them into the Church: To administer the Supper of the Lord: To join in marriage those who are already married to Christ: To reprove, admonish, quicken, comfort, as need requires: To declare the whole counsel of God: Taking heed at all times to speak as the oracles of God, and agreeably to the analogy of faith: To bury those who have died in the Lord, and to keep that safe which is committed to his charge, even the pure doctrine and apostolical discipline which we have received from our forefathers.

4. We have also another sort of *Deacons* who take care that nothing be wanting to the *Orphan-House*, the poor, the sick, and the strangers. Others again there are, who are peculiarly to take care of the sick: and others, of the poor. And two of these are intrusted with the public stock, and keep accounts of all that is received or expended.

5. There are women who perform each of the above-

mentioned offices, among those of their own sex: For none of the men converse with them, beside the Eldest, the Teacher, and one, or sometimes two of the Deacons.

6. Towards magistrates, whether of a superior or inferior rank, we bear the greatest reverence. We cheerfully submit to their laws; and even when many of us have been spoiled of their goods, driven out of their houses and every way oppressed by them, yet they resisted them not, neither opening their mouths, nor lifting up their hand against them. In all things which do not immediately concern the inward, spiritual kingdom of Christ, we simply, and without contradicting, obey the higher powers. But with regard to conscience, the liberty of this we cannot suffer to be any way limited or infringed. And to this head we refer whatever directly and in itself tends to hinder the salvation of souls: Or, whatsoever things Christ and his holy Apostles (who we know meddled not with outward worldly things) took charge of, and performed, as necessary for the constituting and well-ordering of his Church. In these things we acknowledge no Head but Christ; and are determined, God being our helper, to give up not only our goods, (as we did before) but life itself, rather than this liberty which God hath given us.

7. As it behoves all Christians, not to be *slothful in business*, but diligently to attend the works of their calling; there are persons chosen by the Church, to superintend all those who are employed in outward business. And by this mean also, many things are prevented which might otherwise be an occasion of offence.

8. We have also *Censors* and *Monitors*. In those experience and perspicuity; in these wisdom and modesty are chiefly required. The *Censors* signify what they observe (and they observe the smallest things) either to the *Deacons* or *Monitors*. Some *Monitors* there are, whom all know to be such; others who are secretly appointed; and who, if need require, may freely admonish in the love of Christ, even the Rulers of the Church.

9. The Church is so divided, that first the husbands,

then the wives, then the widows, then the maids, then the young men, then the boys, then the girls, and lastly the little children, are in so many distinct Classes; each of which is daily visited; the married men, by a married man; the wives by a wife, and so of the rest.* These larger are also (now) divided into near ninety smaller Classes or Bands; over each of which one presides who is of the greatest experience. All these Leaders meet the Senior every week, and lay open to him and to the Lord, whatsoever hinders or furthers the work of God, in the souls committed to their charge.

10. In the year 1727, four and twenty men, and as many women agreed, that each of them would spend an hour in every day in praying to God for his blessing on his people; and for this purpose both the men and women chose a place where any of their own sex who were in distress might be present with them. The same number of unmarried women, of unmarried men, of boys, and of girls, were afterwards, at their desire, added to them; who pour out their souls before God, not only for their own brethren, but also for other Churches, and persons that have desired to be mentioned in their prayers. And this perpetual intercession has never ceased day or night, since its first beginning.

11. And as the members of the Church are divided, according to their respective states and sexes: so they are also, with regard to their proficiency in the knowledge of God. Some are dead, some quickened by the Spirit of God: Of these, some again are untractable, some diligent, some zealous, burning with their first love; some babes, and some young men. Those who are still dead, are visited every day. And of the babes in Christ especial care is taken also that they may be daily inspected and assisted to grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus.

12. In the Orphan-house, about seventy children are brought up, separate according to their sex. Beside which,

* This work all the married Brethren and Sisters, as well as the unmarried, perform in their turns.

several experienced persons are appointed to consult with the parents, touching the education of the other children. In teaching them Christianity, we make use of Luther's Catechism, and study the amending their wills as well as understanding; finding by experience, that when their will is moved they often learn more in a few hours, than otherwise in many months. Our little children we instruct chiefly by hymns; whereby we find the most important truths most successfully insinuated into their minds.

13. We highly reverence marriage, as greatly conducive to the kingdom of Christ. But neither our young men nor women enter into it till they assuredly know they are married to Christ. When any know it is the will of God that they should change their state, both the man and woman are placed for a time with some married persons, who instruct them how to behave, so that their married life may be pleasing to God. Then their design is laid before the whole Church, and after about fourteen days, they are solemnly joined, though not otherwise habited than they are at other times. If they make any entertainment, which is not always, they invite only a few intimate friends, by whose faithful admonitions they may be the better prepared to bear their cross and fight the good fight of faith. If any woman is with child, not only special mention is made of her in the public prayers, but she is also exhorted in private, wholly to give herself up into the hands of her faithful Creator. As soon as a child is born, prayer is made for it, and, if it may be, it is baptized in the presence of the whole Church. Before it is weaned, it is brought into the assembly on the Lord's-days.

14. Whoever, either of the male or female children, seek God with their whole heart, are not used to be much incited to come to the Lord's Supper, neither are they forbidden so to do, if they desire it. We think it enough to teach our children just conceptions of it, and the difference between this food of the soul and that milk which they every day receive of Christ. They then publicly declare the sentiments of their hearts concerning it. They are afterwards

examined both in private by the Pastor, and also in public: and then, after an exhortation by the Senior, are by him, through laying on of hands, added to the Church and *confirmed*. The same method is used with those who renounce the Papal superstitions, or who are turned from the service of Satan to God; and that, if they desire it, although they are not young; yea, though they are well stricken in years.

15. Once or twice a month, either at Bertholdsdorf, or, if it may be, at Hernhuth, all the Church receives the Lord's Supper. It cannot be expressed how greatly the power of God is then present among us. A general confession of sins is made by one of the brethren in the name of all. Then a few solid questions are asked; which when they have answered, the absolution or remission of sins is either pronounced to all in general, or confirmed to every particular person, by the laying on of hands. The Seniors first receive; then the rest in order, without any regard had to worldly dignity, in this, any more than in any other of the solemn offices of religion. After receiving, all the men (and so the women) meet together to renew their covenant with God, to seek his face and to exhort one another to the patience of hope and the labour of love.

16. They have a peculiar esteem for lots, and accordingly use them both in public and private, to decide points of importance, when the reasons brought on each side, appear to be of equal weight. And they believe this to be then the only way of wholly setting aside their own will, of acquitting themselves of all blame, and clearly knowing what is the will of God.

17. At eight in the morning, and in the evening, we meet to pray and to praise God, and to read and hear the Holy Scriptures: The time we usually spend in sleep, is from eleven at night till four in the morning. So that allowing three hours a day for taking the food both of our bodies and souls, there remain sixteen for work. And this space, those who are in health spend therein with all diligence and faithfulness.

18. Two men keep watch in the streets, as do two women in the women's apartment; that they may pour out their souls for those that sleep; and by their hymns raise the hearts of any who are awake to God.

19. For the further stirring up the gift which is in us, sometimes we have public, sometimes private Love-feasts: At which we take a moderate refreshment with gladness and singleness of heart, and the voice of praise and thanksgiving.

20. If any man among us, having been often admonished, and long forborn, persists in walking unworthy of his holy calling, he is no longer admitted to the Lord's Supper. If he still continues in his fault, hating to be reformed, the last step is, publicly, and often in the midst of many prayers and tears, to cast him out of our congregation. But great is our joy, if he then see the error of his ways, so that we may receive him among us again.

21. Most of our brethren and sisters, have in some part of their life, experienced holy mourning and sorrow of heart; and have afterwards been assured, that *there* was *no* more *condemnation for them, being passed from death unto life.* They are therefore far from fearing to die, or desiring to live on earth; knowing that to them *to die is gain*, and being confident that they are the care of him, whose are the *issues of life and death.* Wherefore they depart as out of one chamber into another. And after the soul has left its habitation, their remains are deposited in the earth, appointed for that purpose. And the survivors are greatly comforted, and rejoice over them, with a *joy the world knoweth not of.*

AN

EXTRACT

OF THE

REV. JOHN WESLEY'S

JOURNAL,

No. III.

FROM AUGUST 12, 1738, TO NOVEMBER 1, 1739.

IF THIS COUNSEL OR THIS WORK BE OF MAN, IT WILL COME TO NOUGHT; BUT IF IT BE OF GOD, YE CANNOT OVERTHROW IT; LEST HAPLY YE BE FOUND EVEN TO FIGHT AGAINST GOD.—ACTS V. 38, 39.

THE PREFACE.

1. *WHEN at first men began to lay to my charge things which I knew not, I often thought, "Had I but two or three intimate friends, who knew what my life and conversation were, they might easily speak what they had seen and heard, and all such aspersions would fall to the ground." But I perceived my mistake, as soon as I had two or three who were my friends indeed, not in name only. For a way was easily found to prevent their being of any such use as I once imagined they would be. This was done at a stroke, and that once for all, by giving them and me a New Name; a name, which however insignificant in itself, yet had this peculiar effect, utterly to disable me from removing whatever accusation might for the time to come be cast upon me, by invalidating all which those who knew me best were able to say in my behalf; nay, which any others could say. For how notorious is it, that if any man dare to open his mouth in my favour, it needs only be re-*

plied, "I suppose you are a Methodist *too," and all he has said is to pass for nothing.*

2. *Hence, on the one hand, many who knew what my conversation was, were afraid to declare the truth, lest the same reproach should fall upon them; and those few who broke through this fear, were soon disabled from declaring it with effect, by being immediately ranked with him they defended. What impartial man then can refuse to say,* It is permitted to thee to answer for thyself? *Only do not add, "But thou* shalt not *persuade me, though thou* dost *persuade me: I am resolved to think as I did before." Not so, if you are a candid man. You have heard one side already. Hear the other; weigh both; allow for human weakness; and then judge as you desire to be judged.*

3. *What I design in the following Extract is, openly to declare to all mankind, what it is that the* Methodists *(so called) have done, and are doing now: Or rather, what it is that God hath done, and is still doing in our land. For it is not the work of man which hath lately appeared. All who calmly observe it, must say,* This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

4. *Such a work this hath been in many respects, as neither we nor our fathers had known. Not a few whose sins were of the most flagrant kind, drunkards, swearers, thieves, whoremongers, adulterers, have been brought* from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God. *Many of these were rooted in their wickedness, having long gloried in their shame, perhaps for a course of many years, yea even to hoary hairs. Many had not so much as a notional faith, being Jews, Arians, Deists, or Atheists. Nor has God only made bare his arm in these last days, in behalf of open publicans and sinners; but many* of the Pharisees *also* have believed on him, *of the* righteous that need no repentance: *and having* received the sentence of death in themselves, have then heard

the voice that raiseth the dead: *Have been made partakers of an inward vital religion, even* righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

5. *The manner wherein God hath wrought this work, is as strange as the work itself. In many souls it has generally, if not always, been wrought in one moment.* As the lightning shining from heaven, *so was* the coming of the Son of man, *either to bring peace or a sword; either to wound or to heal, either to convince of sin, or to give remission of sins in his blood. And the other circumstances attending it have been equally remote from what human wisdom would have expected. So true is that word,* My ways are not as your ways, nor my thoughts as your thoughts.

6. *These extraordinary circumstances seem to have been designed by God for the further manifestation of his work, to cause his power to be known, and to awaken the attention of a drowsy world. And yet even from these, some have drawn their grand objection against the whole work.* We never saw it, *say they,* on this fashion. *Therefore, the work is not of God. To prove which farther, they have not only greatly misrepresented many circumstances that really were, but have added many that were not, often without any regard either to truth or probability. A bare recital of those facts which were* not done in a corner, *is the best answer to this sort of objections. To those which have been judged to be of more weight, I have occasionally given a more particular answer.*

7. *Yet I know even this will by no means satisfy the far greater part of those who are now offended. And for a plain reason, because they* will never read it: *They are resolved to hear one side, and one only. I know also, that many who* do *read it, will be just of the same mind they were before; because they have fixed their judgment already, and* do not regard any thing which such a

fellow can say. *Let them see to that. I have done my part. I have delivered mine own soul. Nay, I know that many will be greatly offended at this very account. It must be so from the very nature of the things which are therein related. And the best appellation I expect from them is, that of a fool, a madman, an enthusiast. All that in me lies is, to relate simple truth, in as inoffensive a manner as I can. Let God give it the effect which pleaseth him, and which is most for his glory!*

8. *May* He who hath the key of the House of David, who openeth and no man shutteth, *open* a great and effectual door *by whom it pleaseth Him, for his Everlasting Gospel! May He* send by whom He *will* send, *so it may* run and be glorified *more and more! May He* ride on, conquering and to conquer, *until* the fulness of the *Gentiles* be come in; *and* the earth be full of the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea!

J. W.

JOURNAL.

No. III.

FROM AUGUST 12, 1738, TO NOVEMBER 1, 1739.

SATURDAY, August 12, about seven in the evening, we came to Neu-Kirche, a town about twenty-four miles from Hernhuth. Mr. Schneider, the minister of it, who had desired us to take his house in our way, was not at home; but we found one Mr. Manætius there, the minister of a neighbouring town, who walked with us in the morning ten miles, to Hauswalde, where he lived. He told us, "That the Lutherans, as well as the Papists, were irreconcilable enemies to the Brethren of Hernhuth: that the generality of the Lutheran clergy were as bitter against them as the Jesuits themselves: that none of his neighbours durst go thither, unless by stealth, being sure of suffering for it, if discovered: that to prevent any of Hernhuth from coming to them, the Elector had forbid, under a severe penalty, any number of persons, exceeding three, to meet together on a religious account; and that he himself, for having a little society in his own parish, had been summoned to appear before the consistory at Dresden." Yea, let the *kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord, and against his anointed! He that sitteth in Heaven shall laugh them to scorn; the Lord shall have them in derision.*

We left Hauswalde in the afternoon, and in the evening came to Dresden. But the officer at the gate would not suffer us to come in; so that we were obliged to go on to

the next village; which leaving early in the morning, on Thursday, in the afternoon, we came to Leipsig.

We were now kept only an hour at the gate, and then conducted to Mr. Arnold's, who had invited us, when we were in the town before, to make his house our home. A few we found here too, who desire to *know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified.* And from them we had letters to Halle, whither we came on Friday 18. But the King of Prussia's tall men, who kept the gates, would not suffer Mr. Brown to come in. Me they admitted, in honour of my profession, after I had waited about two hours: and one of them went with me to the Prince of Hesse, who, after a few questions, gave me leave to lodge in the city. Thence he shewed me to Mr. Gotschalck's lodgings, to whom I had letters from Leipsig. He read them, and said, "My brother, what you find here, you will use as your own. And if you want any thing else, tell us, and you shall have it."

I told them, my companion was without the gate. They soon procured admittance for him. And we were indeed as at home; for I have hardly seen such little children as these, even at Hernhuth.

Saturday 19, I waited on Professor Francke, who behaved with the utmost humanity; and afterwards on Professor Knappe, to whom also I am indebted for his open, friendly behaviour. Between ten and eleven, seven of the brethren set out with us, one of whom went with us two days journey. It was the dusk of the evening on Sunday 20, when, wet and weary, we reached Jena.

Monday 21, We visited the schools there; the rise of which, as we were informed, was occasioned thus:

About the year 1704, Mr. Stoltius, a student at Jena, began to speak of *faith in Christ;* which he continued to do, until he took his master's degree, and read public lectures. About twelve or fifteen students were awakened, and joined with him in prayer, and building up one another. At this, after various calumnies spread abroad, and divers persecutions occasioned thereby, the consistory was of-

fended, and issued out a commission to examine him. In consequence of the report made to the consistory by these commissioners, he was forbid to read any public lectures, or to hold any meetings with his friends. Not long after, an order was given, by which he was excluded from the Holy Communion. He was also to have been expelled the university: but this he prevented by a voluntary retirement.

Yet one of the commissioners, who had been sent by the Duke of Weymar, one of the lords of Jena, informed the Duke, that according to his judgment, Stoltius was an innocent and holy man. On this the Duke sent for him to Weymar, and fixed him in a living there. There likewise he awakened many, and met with them to pray and read the Scriptures together. But it was not long that the city could bear him. For he boldly rebuked all vice, and that in all persons, neither sparing the courtiers, nor the Duke himself. Consequently, his enemies every where increased, and many persecutions followed. In fine, he was forbid to have any private meetings, and was to have been deposed from the ministry; when God calling him to himself, took him away from the evil to come.

Before Stoltius left Jena, Boddæus also began to preach the real Gospel, as did Christius soon after; whereby some awakening, continued till the year 1724. A few of the townsmen then agreed to maintain a student, to be a schoolmaster for some poor children. They afterwards kept several schoolmasters: but about 1728, all of them going away, the school was broke up, and the children quite neglected. Professor Boddæus being informed of this, earnestly recommended the consideration of it to the students in his house; and about ten of them, among whom was Mr. Spangenberg, took upon themselves the care of those children. Their number soon increased, which gave great offence to the other school-masters in the town; and not long after, to the magistrates of the town, and to the senate of the university. The offence soon spread to the pastors, the

professors, the consistory, and the princes who are lords of Jena. But it pleased God to move one of them, the prince of Eisenach, who had the chief power there, to stop the open persecution, by forbidding either the senate or consistory to molest them. He likewise wholly exempted them from the jurisdiction of both, ordering that all complaints against them for the time to come should be cognizable only by himself. But during the persecution, the number of schools was increased from one to three, (one in each suburb of the city), the number of teachers to above thirty, and of children to above three hundred.

There are now thirty-one constant teachers, ten in each school, and three or four supernumeraries, to supply accidental defects. Four of the masters are appointed to punish, who are affixt to no one school. Each of the schools being divided into two classes, and taught five hours a day, every one of the thirty masters has one hour in a day to teach. All the masters have a conference about the schools every Monday. They have a second meeting on Thursday, chiefly for prayer; and a third every Saturday.

Once in half a year, they meet to fill up the places of those masters who are gone away. And the number has never decreased; fresh ones still offering themselves, as the former leave the university.

The present method wherein they teach is this:

There are always two classes in each school. In the lower, children from six to ten or twelve years old are taught to read. They are then removed to the other class, in which are taught, the Holy Scriptures, arithmetic, and whatever else it may be useful for children to learn.

In the morning, from eight to nine, they are all catechised, and instructed in the first principles of Christianity, either from Luther's smaller catechism, or from some texts of holy Scripture.

From nine to ten, the younger children are taught their letters and syllables; and the elder read the Bible. From

ten to eleven, those in the lower class learn and repeat some select verses of Holy Scripture, chiefly relating to the foundation of the faith. Meanwhile, those in the upper, learn arithmetic.

In the afternoon, from one to two, all the children are employed as from nine to ten in the morning. From two to three, the younger children learn and repeat Luther's smaller catechism, while the elder are taught to write.

Every Sunday there is a public catechising on some texts of Scripture; at which all persons who desire it may be present.

In the afternoon we left Jena, several of the brethren accompanying us out of town. At five, having just passed through Weymar, we met Mr. Ingham going for Hernhuth. We all turned aside to a neighbouring village, where having spent a comfortable evening together, in the morning we commended each other to the Grace of God, and went on our several ways.

We breakfasted at Erfurt with Mr. Reinhart, spent the evening with some brethren at Saxegotha, and by long journeys came to Marienborn on Friday, August 25.

Monday 28, I took my leave of the Countess (the Count being gone to Jena), and setting out early the next morning, came about three in the afternoon to Franckfort. From Mr. Bohler's we went to the society, where one of the brethren from Marienborn offered free redemption, through the blood of Christ, to sixty or seventy persons.

Wednesday 30, In the afternoon we came to Mentz, and agreed for our passage to Colen by water, for a florin per head; which was but half what we gave before, though, it seems, twice as much as we ought to have given.

Thursday 31, We spent half an hour in the great church, a huge heap of irregular building, full of altars, adorned, or loaded rather, with abundance of gold and silver. In going out, we observed a paper on the door, which was of so extraordinary a nature, that I thought it would not be labour lost to transcribe it. The words were as follow:

"*Volkommener Ablass fur die arme Seelen im Feg-feur.*

"Seine Pabliche Heiligkeit, Clemens der 12te, haben in diesem jahr 1738, den 7 Augusti, die Pfarr Kirche des Sancti Christophori in Mentz gnadigsten privilegirt, dass ein jeder Priester, so wohl Secular als Regularischen stands, der am aller Seelen-tag, wie auch an einim jedem tag in derselben Octav; so dann am zwiein vom Ordinario tagen einer jeden woch das jahr hindurch, fur die seel eine Christglaubigen verstorbenen an zum Altar Mess lesen wird, jedesmahl eine Seel aus dem Feg-feur erlosen konne.

"*A full Release for the poor Souls in Purgatory.*

"His Papal Holiness, Clement the XIIth, hath this year 1738, on the seventh of August, most graciously privileged the cathedral church of St. Christopher in Mentz, so that every priest, as well secular as regular, who will read mass at an altar for the soul of a Christian departed, on any holiday, or on any day within the octave thereof, or on two extraordinary days, to be appointed by the ordinary, of any week in the year, may each time deliver a soul out of the fire of purgatory."

Now I desire to know, whether any Romanist of common sense, can either defend or approve of this?

At eight we took boat, and on Saturday, September 2, about eleven came to Colen, which we left at one; and between seven and eight reached a village, an hour short of Neus. Here we overtook a large number of Switzers, men, women, and children, singing, dancing, and making merry, being all going *to make their fortunes in Georgia.* Looking upon them as delivered into my hands by God, I plainly told them what manner of place it was. If they now leap into the fire with open eyes, their blood is on their own heads.

Monday 4, Before noon we came to Cleves, and to Nimwegen in the evening. The next night we lay at a little village near Tiel; which leaving early in the morning, we walked by the side of many pleasant orchards, and in the

afternoon came to Ysselstein. We stayed only one night with the brethren, (in the new house, called Herndyke, an English mile from the town), and hasting forward, came the next afternoon to Dr. Koker's, at Rotterdam.

I cannot but acknowledge the civility of this friendly man, all the time we staid in his house. In the morning, Friday 8, we went to the English episcopal church, which is a large, handsome, convenient building. The minister read prayers seriously and distinctly, to a small, well-behaved congregation. Being informed our ship was to sail the next day (Saturday), we took leave of our generous friend, and went to an inn close to the key, that we might be ready when called to go aboard. Having waited till past four in the afternoon, we stepped into the Jews' synagogue, which lies near the waterside. I do not wonder that so many Jews, especially those who have any reflection, utterly abjure all religion. My spirit was moved within me, at that horrid, senseless pageantry, that mockery of God, which they call public worship. Lord, do not Thou yet *cast off thy people! But in Abraham's seed let them also be blessed!*

The ship lingering still, I had time to exhort several English, whom we met with at our inn, to pursue inward religion; the renewal of their souls in righteousness and true holiness. In the morning, a daughter of affliction came to see me, who teaches a school at Rotterdam. She had been for some time under deep convictions; but could find none to instruct or comfort her. After much conversation, we joined in prayer, and her spirit a little revived. Between nine and ten we went on board. In the afternoon I read prayers, and preached in the great cabin. The wind being contrary, we did not get out of the river until Wednesday; nor to London until Saturday night.

Sunday, September 17, I began again to declare in my own country the glad tidings of salvation, preaching three times, and afterwards expounding the Holy Scripture to a large company in the Minories. On Monday, I rejoiced to meet with our little society, which now consisted of thirty-

two persons. The next day I went to the condemned felons in Newgate, and offered them free salvation. In the evening, I went to a society in Bear-yard, and preached repentance and remission of sins. The next evening I spoke the truth in love at a society in Aldersgate-street. Some contradicted at first; but not long: so that nothing but love appeared at our parting.

Thursday 21, I went to a society in Gutter-lane; but I could not declare the mighty works of God there, as I did afterwards at the Savoy in all simplicity. And the Word did not return empty.

Finding abundance of people greatly exasperated by gross misrepresentations of the words I had spoken, I went to as many of them in private, as my time would permit. God gave me much love towards them all. Some were convinced they had been mistaken. And who knoweth but God will soon return to the rest, and leave a blessing behind him?

On Saturday 23, I was enabled to speak strong words both at Newgate and at Mr. E.'s society; and the next day at St. Anne's, and twice at St. John's, Clerkenwell; so that I fear they will bear me there no longer.

Tuesday 26, I declared the Gospel of Peace to a small company at Windsor. The next evening Mr. H. preached to the societies at Bow; but not *the truth as it is in Jesus*. I was afraid lest *the lame* should *be turned out of the way*: But God answered the thoughts of my heart, and took away my fear, in a manner I did not expect, even by the words of Thomas Sternhold. They were these, sung immediately after the sermon:

"Thy mercy is above all things,
O God; it doth excel;
In trust whereof, as in thy wings,
The sons of men shall dwell.

Within thy house they shall be fed
With plenty at their will;
Of all delights they shall be sped,
And take thereof their fill.

Because the well of life most pure
Doth ever flow from thee;
And in thy light we are most sure
Eternal light to see.

From such as Thee desire to know
Let not thy grace depart;
Thy righteousness declare and show
To men of upright heart."

Saturday 30, One who had been a zealous opposer of *this way*, sent and desired to speak with me immediately. He had all the signs of settled despair, both in his countenance and behaviour. He said, "He had been inslaved to sin many years, especially to drunkenness: that he had long used all the means of Grace, had constantly gone to church, and sacrament, had read the Scriptures, and used much private prayer, and yet was nothing profited." I desired we might join in prayer. After a short space he rose, and his countenance was no longer sad. He said, "Now I know God loveth *me*, and has forgiven *my* sins. And sin shall not have dominion over me; for Christ hath set me free." And according to his faith it was unto him.

Sunday, October 1, I preached both morning and afternoon at St. George's in the East. On the following days I endeavoured to explain the way of salvation, to many who had misunderstood what had been preached concerning it.

Friday 6, I preached at St. Antholin's once more. In the afternoon I went to the Rev. Mr. Bedford, to tell him, between me and him alone, of the injury he had done, both to God and his brother, by preaching and printing that very weak sermon on Assurance, which was an *ignoratio elenchi* from beginning to end; seeing the assurance we preach is of quite another kind from that he writes against. We speak of, an assurance *of our present pardon;* not (as he does) *of our final perseverance.*

In the evening I began expounding at a little society in Wapping. On Sunday 8, I preached at the Savoy Chapel, I suppose the last time, on the parable, or history rather,

of the Pharisee and Publican praying in the Temple. On Monday 9, I set out for Oxford. In walking, I read the truly surprising narrative of the conversions in and about the town of Northampton in New-England. Surely *this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes!*

An extract from this I wrote to a friend, concerning the state of those who are *weak in faith*. His answer, which I received on Saturday 14, threw me into great perplexity, till, after crying to God, I took up a Bible, which opened on these words; *And Jabez called on the God of Israel, saying, O that thou wouldest bless me indeed, and enlarge my coast! And that thine hand might be with me, and that thou wouldest keep me from evil that it may not grieve me! And God granted him that which he requested.*

This, however, with a sentence in the Evening Lesson put me upon considering my own state more deeply. And what then occurred to me was as follows:

Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith. Now the surest test whereby we can examine ourselves whether we be indeed in the faith, is that given by St. Paul, *If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature. Old things are passed away; behold all things are become new.*

First, His *judgments* are new: his judgment of *himself*, of *happiness*, of *holiness*.

He judges himself to be altogether fallen short of the glorious image of God. To have no good thing abiding in him; but all that is corrupt and abominable: In a word, to be wholly earthy, sensual, and devilish: a motley mixture of beast and devil.

Thus, by the grace of God in Christ, I judge of myself. Therefore I am, in this respect, a new creature.

Again, his judgment concerning happiness is new. He would as soon expect to dig it out of the earth, as to find it in riches, honour, pleasure (so called) or indeed in the enjoyment of any creature. He knows there can be no happiness on earth, but in the enjoyment of God, and in the foretaste of those *rivers of pleasure which flow at his right hand for evermore.*

Thus, by the grace of God in Christ, I judge of *happiness*. Therefore I am, in this respect, a new creature.

Yet again, his judgment concerning *holiness* is new. He no longer judges it to be an outward thing. To consist either, in doing no harm, in doing good, or in using the ordinances of God. He sees it is the life of God in the soul; the image of God fresh stamped on the heart. An entire renewal of the mind in every temper and thought, after the likeness of Him that created it.

Thus, by the grace of God in Christ, I judge of holiness. Therefore I am, in this respect, a new creature.

Secondly, His *designs* are new. It is the design of his life, not to heap up treasures upon earth, not to gain the praise of men, not to indulge the desires of the flesh, the desire of the eye, or the pride of life; but to regain the image of God; to have the life of God again planted in his soul; and to be renewed after his likeness, in righteousness and all true holiness.

This, by the grace of God in Christ, is the design of my life. Therefore I am, in this respect, a new creature.

Thirdly, His *desires* are new, and indeed the whole train of his *passions* and *inclinations*. They are no longer fixed on earthly things; they are now set on the things of heaven. His love, and joy, and hope, his sorrow and fear, have all respect to things above. They all point heavenward. *Where his treasure is, there is his heart also.*

I dare not say I am a new creature in this respect. For other desires often *arise* in my heart, but they do not *reign*. I put them all under my feet through Christ which strengtheneth me. Therefore I believe he is *creating* me anew in this also, and that he has begun, though not finished his work.

Fourthly, His *conversation* is new. It is *always seasoned with salt, and fit to minister grace to the hearers.*

So is mine, by the Grace of God in Christ. Therefore, in this respect, I am a new creature.

Fifthly, His *actions* are new. The Tenor of his life singly points at the glory of God. All his substance and time are

devoted thereto. *Whether he eats or drinks, or whatever he does,* it either springs from, or leads to the love of God and man.

Such, by the grace of God in Christ, is the tenor of my life. Therefore, in this respect, I am a new creature.

But St. Paul tells us elsewhere, that *the fruit of the Spirit is love, peace, joy, long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, temperance.* Now although, by the grace of God in Christ, I find a measure of some of these in myself, viz. of peace, long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, temperance: Yet others I find not. I cannot find in myself the love of God or of Christ. Hence my deadness and wanderings in public prayer. Hence it is that even in the Holy Communion, I have frequently no more than a cold attention.

Again, I have not that joy in the Holy Ghost: no settled lasting joy. Nor have I such a peace as excludes the possibility either of fear or doubt. When holy men have told me I had no faith, I have often doubted whether I had or not; and those doubts have made me very uneasy, till I was relieved by prayer and the Holy Scriptures.

Yet, upon the whole, although I have not yet that joy in the Holy Ghost, nor the full assurance of faith, nor the (proper) *witness of the Spirit with my spirit that I am a child of God,* much less am I, in the full and proper sense of the words, *in Christ a new creature;* I nevertheless trust that I have a measure of faith, and am *accepted in the Beloved:* I trust *the hand-writing that was against me is blotted out,* and that I am *reconciled to God* through his Son."

Sunday 15, I preached twice at the Castle, and afterwards expounded at three societies. Wednesday evening I came to London again, and on Friday met a society (of soldiers chiefly) at Westminster. On Sunday 22, I preached at Bloomsbury in the morning, and at Shadwell in the afternoon. Wednesday 25, I preached at Basingshaw Church; on Friday morning at St. Antholin's; on Sunday at Islington, and at London-wall. Strange doctrine to a polite audience!

In the evening being troubled at what some said, of *the kingdom of God within us*, and doubtful of my own state, I called upon God, and received this answer from his word, *He himself also waited for the kingdom of God.* "But should not I wait in silence and retirement?" was the thought that immediately struck into my mind. I opened my Testament again, on those words, *Seest thou not how faith wrought together with his works? and by works was faith made perfect.*

Finding the same doubts return on Tuesday, I consulted the Oracles of God again, and found much comfort from those words, *They which be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham.*

Friday, Nov. 3, I preached at St. Antholin's. Sunday 5, in the morning, at St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate; in the afternoon at Islington, and in the evening to such a congregation as I never saw before, at St. Clement's in the Strand. As this was the first time of my preaching here, I suppose it is to be the last.

On Wednesday my brother and I went, at their earnest desire, to do the last good office to the condemned malefactors. It was the most glorious instance I ever saw of faith triumphing over sin and death. One observing the tears run fast down the cheeks of one of them in particular, while his eyes were steadily fixed upwards, a few moments before he died, asked, "How do you feel your heart now?" He calmly replied, "I feel a peace which I could not have believed to be possible. And I know it is the peace of God, which passeth all understanding."

My brother took that occasion of declaring the Gospel of peace, to a large assembly of publican's and sinners. *O Lord God of my fathers* accept even *me* among them, and *cast me not out from among thy children!*

In the evening I proclaimed mercy to my fellow-sinners at Basingshaw-church; and the next morning at St. Antolin's. Friday 10, I set out, and Saturday 11, spent the evening with a little company at Oxford. I was grieved to find, *Prudence* had made them leave off singing psalms. I fear

it will not stop here. God deliver me, and all that seek him in sincerity, from what the world calls *Christian Prudence!*

Sunday 12, I preached twice at the Castle. In the following week, I began more narrowly to enquire what the doctrine of the Church of England is, concerning the much controverted point of Justification by faith. And the sum of what I found in the Homilies, I extracted, and printed for the use of others.

Sunday 19, I only preached in the afternoon at the Castle. On Monday night I was greatly troubled in dreams, and about eleven o'clock waked in an unaccountable consternation, without being able to sleep again. About that time (as I found in the morning) one who had designed to be my pupil, but was not, came into the porter's lodge, where several persons were sitting, with a pistol in his hand. He presented this, as in sport, first at one and then at another. He then attempted twice or thrice to shoot himself, but it would not go off. Upon his laying it down, one took it up and blew out the priming. He was very angry, went and got fresh prime, came in again, sat down, beat the flint with his key; and about twelve, pulling off his hat and wig, said, "He would die like a gentleman," and shot himself through the head.

Thursday 23, Returning from preaching at the Castle, I met once more with my old companion in affliction, C. D. who stayed with me till Monday. His last conversation with me was as follows:

"In this you are better than you were at Savannah; you know that you were then quite wrong. But you are not right yet. You know that you were then blind. But you do not see now.

"I doubt not but God *will* bring you to the right foundation. But I have no hope for you, while you are on your present foundation. It is as different from the true, as the right hand from the left. You have all to begin anew.

"I have observed all your words and actions, and I see you are of the same spirit still. You have a simplicity; but it is a simplicity of your own. It is not the simplicity of Christ. You think you do not trust in your own works. But you do trust in your own works. You do not believe in Christ.

"You have a present freedom from sin. But it is only a temporary suspension of it, not a deliverance from it. And you have a peace. But it is not a true peace. If death were to approach, you would find all your fears return.

"But I am forbid to say any more. My heart sinks in me like a stone."

I was troubled. I begged of God an answer of peace, and opened on those words, *As many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them and mercy, and upon the* Israel *of* God. I was asking in the evening, that God would fulfil all his promises in my soul, when I opened my Testament on those words, *My hour is not yet come.*

Sunday, Dec. 3, I began reading prayers at Bocardo (the city prison) which had been long discontinued. In the afternoon I received a letter, earnestly desiring me, to publish my Account of Georgia: and another as earnestly dissuading me from it, "because it would bring much trouble upon me." I consulted God in his word and received two answers; the first Ezek. xxxiii. 11. 2—6. The other, *Thou therefore endure hardship, as a good soldier of* Jesus Christ.

Tuesday, Dec. 5, I began reading prayers and preaching in Gloucester-Green Workhouse, and on Thursday, in that belonging to St. Thomas's parish. On both days I preached at the Castle. At St. Thomas's was a young woman, raving mad, screaming and tormenting herself continually. I had a strong desire to speak to her. The moment I began she was still. The tears ran down her cheeks all the time I was telling her, "Jesus of Nazareth is able and willing to deliver you." O where is faith upon earth? Why are these poor wretches left under the open

bondage of Satan? Jesus, Master! Give Thou medicine to heal their sickness: and deliver those who are now also vexed with unclean spirits!

About this time, being desirous to know how the work of God went on among our brethren at London, I wrote to many of them concerning the state of their souls. One or two of their answers I have subjoined:

"MY DEAR FRIEND, WHOM I LOVE IN THE TRUTH,

"I KNOW my Saviour's voice, and my heart burns with love and desire to follow him in the regeneration. I have no confidence in the flesh. I loath myself and love Him only. My dear Brother, my spirit even at this moment rejoices in God my Saviour, and the love which is shed abroad in my heart by the Holy Ghost, destroys all self-love, so that I could lay down my life for my brethren. I know that my Redeemer liveth, and have confidence towards God, that through his blood my sins are forgiven. He hath begotten me of his own will, and saves me from sin, so that it has no dominion over me. His Spirit bears witness with my spirit, that I am his child by adoption and grace. And this is not for works of righteousness which I have done. For I am his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works: so that all boasting is excluded. It is now about 18 years since Jesus took possession of my heart. He then opened my eyes and said unto me, *Be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.* My dear friend, bear with my relating, after what manner I was born of God. It was an *instantaneous* act. My whole heart was filled with a Divine Power, drawing all the faculties of my soul after Christ, which continued three or four nights and days. It was as a mighty rushing wind, coming into the soul, enabling me from that moment to be more than conqueror, over those corruptions which before I was always a slave to. Since that time, the whole bent of my will hath been towards him day and night, even in my dreams. I know that I dwell in Christ, and Christ in me; I am bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh. That you and all that

wait for his appearing, may find the consolation of Israel, is the earnest prayer of,

Your affectionate brother in Christ,

W. F."

"MY MOST DEAR AND HONOURED FATHER IN CHRIST,

"IN the 20th year of my age, 1737, God was pleased to open my eyes, and to let me see that I did not live as became a child of God. I found my sins were great, though I was what they call a sober person, and that God kept an account of them all. However I thought, if I repented, and led a good life, God would accept me. And I so went on for about half a year, and had sometimes great joy. But last winter, I began to find, that whatever I did was nothing, and the enemy of souls laid so many things to my charge, that sometimes I despaired of heaven. I continued in great doubts and fears, until April 9, when I went out of town. Here for a time I was greatly transported, in meditating on and seeing the glorious works of God: but in about three weeks I was violently assaulted again. God then offered a Saviour to me, but my self-righteousness kept me from laying hold on Him.

"On Whitsunday I went to receive the blessed Sacrament, but with a heart as hard as a stone. Heavy laden I was indeed, when God was pleased to let me see a crucified Saviour. I saw there was a Fountain opened in his side for me to wash in and be clean. But, alas! I was afraid to venture, fearing I should be too presumptuous. And I know, I at that time refused the atonement which I might then have had. Yet I received great comfort. But in about nine days time, my joy went out, as a lamp does for want of oil, and I fell into my old state. Yet I was not without hope; for ever after that time I could not despair of salvation: I had so clear a sight of the fountain opened in the side of our Lord. But still when I thought of death, or the day of judgment, it was a great terror to me. And yet I was afraid to venture to lay all my sins upon Christ.

"This was not all. But whenever I retired to prayer, I had a violent pain in my head. This only seized me, when I began to pray earnestly, or to cry out aloud to Christ. But when I cried to Him against this also, He gave me ease. Well, I found God did love me, and did draw me to Christ. I hungered and thirsted after Him, but I was still afraid to go boldly to Christ, and to claim Him as *my* Saviour.

"July 3, My dear sister came down to see me. She had received the atonement on St. Peter's day. I told her, I thought, Christ died for *me*, but as to the assurance she mentioned, I could say nothing.

"July 5, She went. That night I went into the garden, and considering what she had told me, I saw Him by faith, whose eyes are as a flame of fire; Him who justifieth the ungodly. I told Him I was ungodly, and it was for *me* that He died. His blood did I plead with great faith, to blot out the hand-writing that was against me. I told my Saviour, that he had promised to give rest, to all that were heavy-laden. This promise I claimed, and I saw Him by faith, stand condemned before God in my stead. I saw the fountain opened in His side. I found, as I hungered, he fed me: as my soul thirsted, He gave me out of that fountain to drink. And so strong was my faith, that if I had had all the sins of the whole world laid upon me, I knew and was sure one drop of His blood was sufficient to atone for all. Well, I clave unto Him, and He did wash me in his blood. He hath presented me to His Father and my Father, to his God and my God, a pure, spotless virgin, as if I had never committed any sin. It is on Jesus I stand, the Saviour of sinners. It is He that hath loved *me*, and given himself for me. I cleave unto Him, as my surety, and He is bound to pay God the debt. While I stand on this Rock, I am sure the gates of hell cannot prevail against me. It is by faith that I am justified, and have peace with God through Him. His blood has made reconciliation to God for me. It is by faith I have received the atonement. It is by faith that

I have the Son of God and the Spirit of Christ dwelling in me. And what then shall separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus my Lord?

"You must think what a transport of joy I was then in, when I that was lost and undone, dropping into hell, felt a Redeemer come, who is *mighty to save, to save unto the uttermost.* Yet I did not receive the witness of the Spirit at that time. But in about half an hour, the devil came with great power to tempt me. However I minded him not, but went in and lay down pretty much composed in my mind. Now St. Paul says, *After ye believed, ye were sealed with the Spirit of promise.* So it was with me. After I had believed on Him *that justifieth the ungodly*, I received that seal of the Spirit, which is the *earnest of our inheritance.*

"July 6, In the morning, being by myself, I found the work of the Spirit was very powerful upon me, although you know God does not deal with every soul in the same way. As my mother bore me with great pain, so did I feel great pain in my soul in being born of God. Indeed I thought the pains of death were upon me, and that my soul was then taking leave of the body. I thought I was going to him whom I saw with strong faith standing ready to receive me. In this violent agony I continued about four hours: and then I began to feel the *Spirit of* God *bearing witness with my spirit, that I was born of* God. *Because I was* a child of God, He *sent forth the Spirit of his Son into me, crying Abba, Father.* For that is the cry of every new-born soul. O mighty, powerful, happy change! I who had nothing but devils ready to drag me to hell, now found I had angels to guard me to my reconciled Father, and my Judge, who just before stood ready to condemn me, was now become my righteousness. But I cannot express what God hath done for my soul. No; this is to be my everlasting employment, when I have put off this frail, sinful body; when I join with that great multitude which no man can number, in singing praises to the Lamb that

loved us, and gave himself for us! O how powerful are the workings of the Almighty in a new-born soul! The love of God was shed abroad in my heart, and a flame kindled there, so that my body was almost torn asunder. I loved. The Spirit cried strong in my heart. I trembled. I sung. I joined my voice with those that excel in strength. My soul was got up into the holy mount. I had no thoughts of coming down again into the body. I who not long before had called to the rocks to fall on me, and the mountains to cover me, could now call for nothing else but *Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.* Then I could cry out with great boldness, There, O God, is my surety! There, O death, is thy plague! There, O grave, is thy destruction! There, O serpent, is the seed, that shall for ever bruise thy head. O I thought my head was a fountain of water! I was dissolved in love. *My beloved is mine, and I am His.* He has all charms. He has ravished my heart. He is my comforter, my friend, my all. He is now in his garden, feeding among the lillies. *O I am sick of love.* He is altogether lovely, *the chiefest among ten thousand.*"

Sunday 10, I administered the Lord's Supper at the Castle. At one I expounded at Mr. Fox's as usual. The great power of God was with us, and one who had been in despair several years, received a witness that she was a child of God.

Monday 11, Hearing Mr. Whitefield was arrived from Georgia, I hastened to London; and on Tuesday 12, God gave us once more to take sweet counsel together.

Friday 15, I preached at St. Antholin's.

Saturday 16, One who had examined himself by the reflections written, October 14, made the following observations on the state of his own soul:

"1. I *judge* thus of myself. But I feel it not. Therefore there is in me still, the old heart of stone.

"2. I judge thus of happiness. But I still hanker after creature-happiness. My soul is almost continually running out after one creature or another, and *imagining* how happy

I should be in such or such a condition. I have more pleasure in eating and drinking, and in the company of those I love, than I have in God. I have a relish for earthly happiness. I have not a relish for heavenly. *I savour (φρονω) the things of men, not the things of God.* Therefore there is in me still the carnal heart, the φρονημα σαρκος, And the eyes of my understanding are not yet fully opened.

"II. 'This is the design of *my* life.' But a thousand little designs are daily stealing into my soul. This is my *ultimate* design: but *intermediate* designs are continually creeping in upon me; designs (though often disguised) of pleasing myself, of doing my own will; designs, wherein I do not eye God; at least, not Him singly.

"Therefore, my eye is not yet single; at least not always so.

"III. Are my desires new? Not all. Some are new, some old. My desires are like my designs. *My great* desire is, to have *Christ formed in my heart by faith.* But little desires are daily stealing into my soul. And so my great hopes and fears have respect to God. But a thousand little ones creep in between them.

"Again, my desires, passions, and inclinations in general, are mixed: having something of Christ, and something of earth. I love you, for instance. But my love is only partly spiritual, and partly natural. Something of *my own* cleaves to that which is of God. Nor can I divide the earthly part from the heavenly."

Sunday 17, I preached in the afternoon at Islington: in the evening at St. Swithin's, for the last time. Sunday 24, I preached at Great St. Bartholomew's in the morning, and at Islington in the afternoon; where we had the Blessed Sacrament every day this week, and were comforted on every side.

Wednesday 27, I preached at Basingshaw-church: Sunday 31, to many thousands, in St. George's, Spitalfields. And to yet a more crowded congregation at Whitechapel, in the afternoon, I declared those glad tidings (O that they

would know the things which make for their peace!) *I will heal their backsliding: I will love them freely.*

Monday, January 1, 1739, Mr. Hall, Kinchin, Ingham, Whitefield, Hutchins, and my brother Charles, were present at our love-feast in Fetter Lane, with about sixty of our brethren. About three in the morning, as we were continuing instant at prayer, the power of God came mightily upon us, insomuch that many cried out for exceeding joy, and many fell to the ground. As soon as we were recovered a little from that awe and amazement at the presence of his Majesty, we broke out with one voice, *We praise Thee, O God; we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord.*

Thursday 4, One who had had the form of godliness many years, wrote the following reflections:

"My friends affirm *I am mad*, because I said *I was not a Christian a year ago.* I affirm, I am not a Christian now. Indeed what I might have been I know not, had I been faithful to the grace then given, when expecting nothing less, I received such a sense of the forgiveness of my sins, as until then I never knew. But that I am not a Christian at this day, I as assuredly know, as that Jesus is the Christ.

"For a Christian is one who has the fruits of the Spirit of Christ, which, to mention no more, are love, peace, joy. But these I have not. I have not any love of God. I do not love either the Father or the Son. Do you ask, How do I know, whether I love God? I answer by another question, How do you know, Whether you love me? Why, as you know, whether you are hot or cold. You *feel* this moment, that you do or do not love me. And I *feel* this moment, I do not love God; which therefore I *know*, because I *feel* it. There is no word more proper, more clear, or more strong.

"And I know it also by St. John's plain rule, *If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him.* For I love the world. I desire the things of the world, some or other of them, and have done all my life. I have

always placed some part of my happiness in some or other of the things that are seen. Particularly in meat and drink, and in the company of those I loved. For many years I have been, yea, and still am, hankering after a happiness, in loving, and being loved by one or another. And in these I have from time to time taken more pleasure than in God.

"Again, joy in the Holy Ghost I have not. I have now and then some starts of joy in God; but it is not *that* joy. For it is not abiding. Neither is it greater than I have had on some worldly occasions. So that I can in no wise be said to *rejoice evermore*; much less to *rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.*

"Yet again; I have not *the peace of God; that* peace, peculiarly so called. The peace I have may be accounted for on natural principles. I have health, strength, friends, a competent fortune, and a composed, cheerful temper. Who would not have a sort of peace in such circumstances? But I have none which can with any truth or propriety be called, *a peace which passeth all understanding.*

"From hence I conclude, (and let all the *saints of the world* hear, that wherein soever they boast, they may be found even as I) though I have given, and do give all my goods to feed the poor, I am not a Christian. Though I have endured hardship, though I have in all things denied myself and taken up my cross, I am not a Christian. My works are nothing, my sufferings are nothing; I have not the fruits of the Spirit of Christ. Though I have constantly used all the means of grace, for twenty years, I am not a Christian."

Wednesday 17, I was with two persons, who, I doubt are properly enthusiasts. For, first, They think to attain the end without the means, which is enthusiasm, properly so called. Again, they think themselves inspired by God, and are not. But false, imaginary inspiration is enthusiasm. That theirs is only imaginary inspiration appears hence, It contradicts the law and the testimony.

Sunday 21, We were greatly surprised in the evening,

while I was expounding in the Minories. A well-dressed, middle aged woman, suddenly cried out, as in the agonies of death. She continued so to do for some time, with all the signs of the sharpest anguish of spirit. When she was a little recovered, I desired her to call upon me the next day. She then told me, that about three years before, she was under strong convictions of sin, and in such a terror of mind, that she had no comfort in any thing, nor any rest, day or night: That she sent for the minister of her parish, and told him the distress she was in: upon which he told her husband she was stark mad, and advised him to send for a physician immediately. A physician was sent for accordingly, who ordered her to be blooded, blistered, and so on. But this did not heal her wounded spirit. So that she continued much as she was before; until the last night, He, whose words she at first found to *be sharper than any two-edged sword*, gave her a faint hope, that He would undertake her cause, and heal the soul which had sinned against Him.

Thursday 25, I baptized John Smith, (late an Anabaptist) and four other adults at Islington. Of the adults I have known to be baptized lately, one only was at that time born again, in the higher sense of the word; that is, found a thorough, inward change, by the love of God filling her heart. Most of them were only born again in a lower sense; *i. e.* received the remission of their sins. And some, as it has too plainly appeared, neither in one sense nor the other.

Sunday 28, I went, having been long importuned thereto, about five in the evening, with four or five of my friends to a friend's house where was one of those commonly called *French Prophets.* After a time, she came in. She seemed about four or five and twenty, of an agreeable speech and behaviour. She asked, why we came? I said, "To try the spirits, whether they be of God." Presently after she leaned back in her chair, and seemed to have strong workings in her breast, with deep sighings intermixed. Her head, and hands, and, by turns, every part of her body

seemed also to be in a kind of convulsive motion. This continued about ten minutes, till, at six, she began to speak (though the workings, sighings, and contortions of her body, were so intermixed with her words, that she seldom spoke half a sentence together) with a clear strong voice, "Father, thy will be done, thy will be done. Thus saith the Lord, if of any of you that is a father, his child ask bread, will he give him a stone? if he ask a fish, will he give him a scorpion? Ask bread of me, my children, and I will give you bread. I will not, will not give you a scorpion. By this judge of what ye shall now hear."

She spoke much, all as in the person of God, and mostly in Scripture words, of the fulfilling of the prophecies, the coming of Christ now at hand, and spreading of the Gospel over all the earth. Then she exhorted us not to be in haste in judging her spirit, to be or not to be of God; but to wait upon God and he would teach us, if we conferred not with flesh and blood. She added, with many enforcements, that we must watch and pray, and take up our cross and *be still before God.*

Two or three of our company were much affected, and believed she spoke by the spirit of God. But this was in no wise clear to me. The motion might be either hysterical or artificial. And the same words any person of a good understanding and well versed in the Scriptures might have spoken. But I let the matter alone: knowing this, that *if it be not of God it will come to nought.*

Sunday Feb. 4, I preached at St. Giles's, on *Whosoever believeth on me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.* How was the power of God present with us! I am content to preach here no more.

Friday 9, A note was given me at Wapping, in nearly these words:

"SIR,

"Your prayers are desired for a child that is lunatic and sore vexed day and night, that our Lord would be pleased to heal him, as he did those in the days of his flesh, and

that he would give his parents faith and patience till his time is come."

Thursday 13, I received the following note:

"SIR,

"I return you hearty thanks for your prayers on Friday for my tortured son. He grows worse and worse. I hope the nearer deliverance. I beg your prayers still to our Redeemer, who will cure him, or give us patience to bear the rod, hoping it is dipped in the blood of the Lamb.

"Sir, he is taken with grievous weeping, his heart beating as if it would beat through his ribs. He swells ready to burst, sweats great drops, runs about beating and tearing himself. He bites and pinches me, so that I carry his marks always on me. He lays his hands on the fire, and sticks pins in his flesh. Thus he has been these five years. He is in his eleventh year, a wonder of affliction; I hope, of mercy also, and that I shall yet praise Him, who is my Redeemer and my God."

Saturday 17, A few of us prayed with him; and from that time, as his parents since informed us, he had more rest (although not a full deliverence) than he had had for two years before.

Sunday 18, I was desired to preach at Sir George Wheeler's chapel, in Spitalfields, morning and afternoon. I did so in the morning, but was not suffered to conclude my subject, as I had designed, in the afternoon: A good remembrance, that I should, if possible, declare at *every* time, the *whole* counsel of God.

Sunday 25, I preached in the morning to a numerous congregation, at St. Catherine's, near the Tower; at Islington in the afternoon. Many here were, as usual, deeply offended. But the counsel of the Lord it shall stand.

Friday, March 2, It was the advice of all our brethren that I should spend a few days at Oxford: whither I accordingly went on Saturday 3. A few names I found here also who had not denied the faith, neither been ashamed of

their Lord, even in the midst of a perverse generation And every day we were together we had convincing proof, such as it had not before entered into our hearts to conceive, that *he is able to save unto the uttermost all that come unto God through him.*

One of the most surprising instances of his power which I ever remember to have seen, was on the Tuesday following; when I visited one who was above measure enraged at *this new way*, and zealous in opposing it. Finding argument to be of no other effect, than to inflame her more and more, I broke off the dispute, and desired we might join in prayer, which she so far consented to as to kneel down. In a few minutes she fell into an extreme agony, both of body and soul; and soon after cried out with the utmost earnestness, "Now I know, I am forgiven for Christ's sake." Many other words she uttered to the same effect, witnessing a hope full of immortality. And from that hour, God hath set her face as a flint, to declare the faith which before she persecuted.

Thursday 8, I called upon her, and a few of her neighbours, who were met together in the evening, among whom I found a gentleman of the same spirit she had been of, earnestly labouring to pervert the truth of the Gospel. To prevent his going on, as the less evil of the two, I entered directly into the controversy, touching both the cause and the fruits of justification: in the midst of the dispute, one who sat at a small distance felt as it were the piercing of a sword, and before she could be brought to another house, whither I was going, could not avoid crying out aloud, even in the street. But no sooner had we made our request known to God, than he sent her help from his holy place.

At my return from hence, I found Mr. Kinchin just come from Dummer, who earnestly desired me, instead of setting out for London the next morning, as I designed, to go to Dummer and supply his church on Sunday. On Friday morning, I set out, according to his desire, and in the evening came to Reading, where I found a young man who

had in some measure *known the powers of the world to come.* I spent the evening with him and a few of his serious friends; and it pleased God much to strengthen and comfort them.

Saturday 10, In the afternoon I came to Dummer; and on Sunday morning had a large and attentive congregation. I was desired to expound in the evening at Basingstoke. The next day I returned to Reading, and thence on Tuesday to Oxford, where I found many more and more rejoicing in God their Saviour. Wednesday 14, I had an opportunity of preaching once again to the poor prisoners in the Castle. Thursday 15, I set out early in the morning, and in the afternoon came to London.

During my stay here, I was fully employed; between our own society, in Fetter-lane, and many others, where I was continually desired to expound: so that I had no thought of leaving London, when I received, after several others, a letter from Mr. Whitefield, and another from Mr. Seward, entreating me in the most pressing manner to come to Bristol without delay. This I was not at all forward to do; and perhaps a little the less inclined to it (though I trust, I do not count my life dear unto myself, so I may finish my course with joy) because of the remarkable scriptures which offered as often as we enquired, touching the consequence of this removal; probably permitted for the trial of our faith. *Get thee up into this mountain—and die in the mount, whither thou goest up, and be gathered unto thy people,* Deut. xxxii. 49. *And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days,* Deut. xxxiv. 8. *I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake,* Acts ix. 16. *And devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentations over him,* Acts viii. 2.

Wednesday 28, My journey was proposed to our society in Fetter-lane. But my brother Charles would scarce bear the mention of it; till appealing to the Oracles of God, he received those words, as spoken to himself, and answered not again: *Son of man, behold I take from thee, the*

desire of thine eyes with a stroke: Yet shalt thou not mourn or weep, neither shall thy tears run down. Our other brethren however continuing the dispute, without any probability of their coming to one conclusion, we at length all agreed, to decide it by lot. And by this it was determined, "I should go." Several afterwards desiring, we might open the Bible, concerning the issue of this, we did so on the several portions of Scripture, which I shall set down, without any reflection upon them. *Now there was long war between the house of Saul and the house of David; but David waxed stronger and stronger, and the house of Saul waxed weaker and weaker*, 2 Sam. iii. 1. *When wicked men have slain a righteous person in his own house upon his bed: Shall I not now require his blood at your hands, and take you away from the earth?* 2 Sam. iv. 11. *And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city, even in Jerusalem*, 2 Chron. xxix. 30.

Thursday, March 29, I left London, and in the evening expounded to a small company at Basingstoke. Saturday 31, in the evening I reached Bristol, and met Mr. Whitefield there. I could scarce reconcile myself at first to this *strange way* of preaching in the fields, of which he set me an example on Sunday: having been all my life, till very lately, so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that I should have thought the saving of souls *almost a sin*, if it had not been done *in a church*.

April 1, In the evening (Mr. Whitefield being gone), I begun expounding our Lord's sermon on the Mount, (one pretty remarkable precedent of *field-preaching*, I suppose *there were churches* at that time also), to a little society which was accustomed to meet once or twice a week in Nicholas-street.

Monday 2, At four in the afternoon, I submitted to *be more vile*, and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation, speaking from a little eminence, in a ground adjoining to the city, to about three thousand people. The Scripture on which I spoke was this, (Is it possible, any one should be ignorant, that it is fulfilled in every true minister

of Christ?) *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor. He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind: to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.*

At seven I began expounding the Acts of the Apostles, to a society meeting in Baldwin-street: and the next day, the Gospel of St. John, in the chapel at Newgate; where I also daily read the morning service of the church.

Wednesday 4, At Baptist Mills, (a sort of a suburb or village, about half a mile from Bristol), I offered the Grace of God to about fifteen hundred persons, from these words, *I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely.*

In the evening, three women agreed to meet together weekly, with the same intention as those at London, viz. *To confess their faults one to another, and pray one for another, that they might be healed.* At eight, four young men agreed to meet, in pursuance of the same design. How dare any man deny this to be, as to the substance of it, a mean of grace, ordained by God? Unless he will affirm, with Luther in the fury of his Solifidianism, that St. James's epistle is *an epistle of straw?*

Thursday 5, At five in the evening I began, at a society in Castle-street, expounding the epistle to the Romans; and the next evening, at a society in Gloucester-lane, the first epistle of St. John. On Saturday evening, at Weavers'-hall also I begun expounding the epistle to the Romans, and declared that Gospel to all, which is the *power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth.*

Sunday 8, At seven in the morning, I preached to about a thousand persons at Bristol, and afterwards to about fifteen hundred, on the top of Hannam-mount in Kingswood. I called to them, in the words of the evangelical prophet, *Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; come and buy wine and milk without money, and without price.* About five thousand were in the afternoon at Rose-green

(on the other side of Kingswood); among whom I stood and cried, in the name of the Lord, *If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on Me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.*

Tuesday 10, I was desired to go to Bath; where I offered to about a thousand souls, the free Grace of God to *heal their backslidings*, and in the morning to, I believe, more than two thousand. I preached to about the same number, at Baptist-mills, in the afternoon, on *Christ, made of God unto us, wisdom and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.*

Saturday 14, I preached at the Poor-house: three or four hundred were within, and more than twice that number without: to whom I explained those comfortable words, *When they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both.*

Sunday 15, I explained at seven, to five or six thousand persons, the story of the pharisee and the publican. About three thousand were present at Hannam-mount. I preached at Newgate, after dinner, to a crowded congregation. Between five and six we went to Rose-green: it rained hard at Bristol, but not a drop fell upon us, while I declared to about five thousand, *Christ our wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.* I concluded the day by shewing at the society in Baldwin-street, that his *blood cleanseth us from all sin.*

Tuesday 17, At five in the afternoon, I was at a little society in the Back-lane. The room in which we were was propped beneath; but the weight of people made the floor give way, so that, in the beginning of the expounding, the post which propped it fell down with a great noise. But the floor sunk no further, so that after a little surprise at first, they quietly attended to the things that were spoken.

Thence I went to Baldwin-street, and expounded, as it came in course, the fourth chapter of the Acts. We then called upon God to confirm his word. Immediately one

that stood by, to our no small surprise, cried out aloud, with the utmost vehemence, even as in the agonies of death. But we continued in prayer, till *a new song was put in her mouth, a thanksgiving unto our God.* Soon after, two other persons (well known in this place, as labouring to live in all good conscience towards all men) were seized with strong pain, and constrained to *roar for the disquietness of their heart.* But it was not long before they likewise burst forth into praise to God their Saviour. The last who called upon God as out of the belly of hell, was I—— E——, a stranger in Bristol. And in a short space, he also was overwhelmed with joy and love, knowing that God had healed his backslidings. So many living witnesses hath God given, that *his hand is* still *stretched out to heal,* and that *signs and wonders are even* now *wrought, by His holy child Jesus.*

Wednesday 18, In the evening, L——a S——, (late a Quaker, but baptized the day before), R——a M——, and a few others, were admitted into the society. But R——a M—— was scarcely able either to speak or look up. *The sorrows of death compassed her about, the pains of hell got hold upon her.* We poured out our complaints before God, and shewed him of her trouble. And he soon shewed, he is a God *that heareth prayer.* She felt in herself, that *being justified freely, she had peace with God, through Jesus Christ.* She *rejoiced in hope of the glory of God, and the love of God was shed abroad in her heart.*

April 20, Being Good Friday, E——th R——n, T—— W——, and one or two others, first knew they had *redemption in the blood of Christ, the remission of* their *sins.*

Saturday 21, At Weavers-hall, a young man was suddenly seized with a violent trembling all over, and in a few minutes, *the sorrows of his heart being enlarged,* sunk down to the ground. But we ceased not calling upon God, until he raised him up full of *peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.*

On Easter-day, it being a thorough rain, I could only preach at Newgate at eight in the morning, and two in the

afternoon; in a house near Hannam-mount at eleven; and in one near Rose-green at five. At the society in the evening, many were cut to the heart, and many comforted.

Monday 23, On a repeated invitation I went to Pensford, about five miles from Bristol. I sent to the minister, to ask leave to preach in the church; but having waited some time and received no answer, I called to many of the people who were gathered together in an open place, *If any man thirst, let him come unto Me, and drink.* At four in the afternoon there were above three thousand, in a convenient place near Bristol; to whom I declared, *The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live.*

I preached at Bath to about a thousand, on Tuesday morning; and at four in the afternoon to the poor colliers, at a place about the middle of Kingswood, called Two-Mile-hill. In the evening at Baldwin-street, a young man, after a sharp, though short agony, both of body and mind, found his soul filled with peace, *knowing in whom he had believed.*

Wednesday 24, To above two thousand at Baptist-mills, I explained that glorious scripture (describing the state of every true believer in Christ, every one who by faith is born of God), *Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again unto fear, but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father.*

Thursday 25, While I was preaching at Newgate on these words, *He that believeth hath everlasting life,* I was insensibly led, without any previous design, to declare strongly and explicitly, That *God willeth all men, to be* thus *saved;* and to pray that "If this were not the truth of God, He would not suffer the blind to go out of the way; but if it were, He would bear witness to his word." Immediately one, and another, and another, sunk to the earth: they dropped on every side as thunderstruck. One of them cried aloud. We besought God in her behalf, and He turned her heaviness into joy. A second being in the same

agony, we called upon God for her also; and He spoke peace unto her soul. In the evening I was again pressed in spirit to declare, that *Christ gave himself a ransom for all.* And almost before we called upon him, to set to his seal, he answered. One was so wounded by the sword of the Spirit, that you would have imagined she could not live a moment. But immediately his abundant kindness was shewed, and she loudly sang of his righteousness.

Friday 26, All Newgate rang with the cries of those whom the Word of God cut to the heart. Two of whom were in a moment filled with joy, to the astonishment of those that beheld them.

Sunday 28, I declared the *free* Grace of God to about four thousand people, from those words, *He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall He not with him also freely give us all things?* At that hour it was, that one who had long continued in sin, from a despair of finding mercy, received a full, clear sense of his pardoning love, and power to sin no more. I then went to Clifton (a mile from Bristol) at the minister's desire, who was dangerously ill, and thence returned to a little plain, near Hannam-mount, where about three thousand were present. After dinner I went to Clifton again. The church was quite full at the prayers and sermon, as was the church-yard at the burial which followed. From Clifton we went to Rose-green, where were, by computation, near seven thousand, and thence to Gloucester-lane society. After which was our first love-feast in Baldwin-street. O how has God renewed my strength! who used ten years ago to be so faint and weary, with preaching *twice* in *one* day!

Monday 29, We understood that many were offended at the cries of those on whom the power of God came: among whom was a physician, who was much afraid there might be fraud or imposture in the case. To-day, one whom he had known many years, was the first, while I was preaching in Newgate, who broke out into *strong cries and tears.* He could hardly believe his own eyes and ears. He went

and stood close to her, and observed every symptom, until great drops of sweat ran down her face, and all her bones shook. He then knew not what to think, being clearly convinced it was not fraud, nor yet any natural disorder. But when both her soul and body were healed in a moment, he acknowledged the finger of God.

Tuesday, May 1, Many were offended again, and indeed much more than before. For at Baldwin-street my voice could scarce be heard, amidst the groanings of some, and the cries of others, calling aloud to *Him that is mighty to save.* I desired all that were sincere of heart, to beseech with me *the prince exalted for us*, that He would *proclaim deliverance to the captives.* And He soon shewed that He heard our voice. Many of those who had been long in darkness, saw the dawn of a great light: and ten persons, I afterwards found, then began to say in faith, *My Lord*, and *my God!*

A Quaker who stood by, was not a little displeased at *the dissimulation of those creatures*, and was biting his lips and knitting his brows, when he dropped down as thunderstruck. The agony he was in was even terrible to behold. We besought God not to lay folly to his charge. And he soon lifted up his head, and cried aloud, "Now I know thou art a prophet of the Lord."

Wednesday 2, At Newgate, another mourner was comforted. I was desired to step thence to a neighbouring house, to see a letter wrote against me, as *a deceiver of the people*, by teaching that God *willeth* all men *to be saved.* One who long had asserted the contrary was there; when a young woman came in, (who could say before, "I know that *my* Redeemer liveth"), all in tears, and in deep anguish of spirit. She said, "She had been reasoning with herself, how these things could be, until she was perplexed more and more; and she now found the Spirit of God was departed from her." We began to pray, and she cried out, "He is come! He is come! I again rejoice in God *my* Saviour." Just as we rose from giving thanks, another per-

son reeled four or five steps, and then dropped down. We prayed with her, and left her strongly convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for deliverance.

I did not mention one J——n H——n, a weaver, who was at Baldwin-street the night before. He was, I understood, a man of a regular life and conversation, one that constantly attended the public prayers and sacrament, and was zealous for the church, and against dissenters of every denomination. Being informed that *people fell into strange fits at the societies*, he came to see and judge for himself. But he was less satisfied than before; insomuch that he went about to his acquaintance, one after another, until one in the morning, and laboured above measure to convince them "it was a delusion of the devil." We were going home, when one met us in the street, and informed us, that J——n H——n was fallen raving mad. It seems he had sat down to dinner, but had a mind first to end a sermon he had borrowed on "Salvation by Faith." In reading the last page, he changed colour, fell off his chair, and began screaming terribly, and beating himself against the ground. The neighbours were alarmed, and flocked together to the house. Between one and two I came in, and found him on the floor, the room being full of people, whom his wife would have kept without; but he cried aloud, "No; let them all come; let all the world see the just judgment of God." Two or three men were holding him as well as they could. He immediately fixed his eyes upon *me*, and stretching out his hand, cried, "Ay, this is he, who I said was a deceiver of the people. But God has overtaken me. I said, it was all a delusion. But this is no delusion." He then roared out, "O thou devil! Thou cursed devil! Yea, thou legion of devils! Thou canst not stay. Christ will cast thee out. I know his work is begun. Tear me to pieces, if thou wilt: but thou canst not hurt me." He then beat himself against the ground again; his breast heaving, at the same time, as in the pangs of death, and great drops of sweat trickling down

his face. We all betook ourselves to prayer. His pangs ceased, and both his body and soul were set at liberty.

Thence I went to Baptist-mills, and declared *Him* whom *God hath exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance unto Israel and remission of sins.* Returning to J——n H——n, we found his voice was lost, and his body weak as that of an infant. But his soul was in peace, full of love, and *rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.*

The women of our society met at seven. During our prayer, one of them fell into a violent agony; but soon after began to cry out with confidence, *My Lord,* and *my God!* Saturday 5, I preached at the desire of an unknown correspondent, on those excellent words, (if well understood, as recommending faith, resignation, patience, meekness), *Be still, and know that I am God.*

Sunday 6, I preached in the morning to five or six thousand people, on, *Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of Heaven.* The same words on which I preached the next day, and on Wednesday, at Baptist-mills. On Hannam-mount I preached to about three thousand, on *The Scripture hath included all under sin.* At two at Clifton-church, on *Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption;* and about five, at Rose-green, on the *promise by faith of Jesus Christ which is given to them that believe.*

Monday 7, I was preparing to set out for Pensford, having now had leave to preach in the church, when I received the following note:

"SIR,

"Our minister, having been informed, you are beside yourself, does not care you should preach in any of his churches."

I went however, and on Priest-down, about half a mile from Pensford, preached *Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.*

Tuesday 8, I went to Bath, but was not suffered to be in the meadow where I was before; which occasioned the offer

of a much more convenient place, where I preached Christ to about a thousand souls.

Wednesday 9, We took possession of a piece of ground, near St. James's church-yard, in the Horse-fair, where it was designed to build a room, large enough to contain both the societies of Nicholas and Baldwin-street, and such of their acquaintance as might desire to be present with them, at such times as the Scripture was expounded. And on Saturday 12, the first stone was laid, with the voice of praise and thanksgiving.

I had not, at first, the least apprehension or design, of being personally engaged, either in the expense of this work, or in the direction of it; having appointed eleven feoffees, on whom I supposed these burthens would fall of course. But I quickly found my mistake; first with regard to the expense: for the whole undertaking must have stood still, had not I immediately taken upon myself the payment of all the workmen; so that, before I knew where I was, I had contracted a debt of more than a hundred and fifty pounds. And this I was to discharge how I could; the subscriptions of both societies not amounting to one quarter of the sum. And as to the direction of the work, I presently received letters from my friends in London, Mr. Whitefield in particular, backed with a message by one just come from thence, That neither he nor they would have any thing to do with the building, neither contribute any thing towards it, unless I would instantly discharge all feoffees, and do every thing in my own name. Many reasons they gave for this; but one was enough, viz. "That such feoffees always would have it in their power, to control me, and if I preached not as they liked, to turn me out of the room I had built." I accordingly yielded to their advice, and calling all the feoffees together, cancelled, no man opposing, the instrument made before, and took the whole management into my own hands. Money, it is true, I had not, nor any human prospect or probability of procuring it. But I knew *the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof*, and in his name set out, nothing doubting.

In the evening, while I was declaring, that Jesus Christ had *given himself a ransom for all*, three persons almost at once, sunk down as dead, having all their sins set in array before them. But in a short time they were raised up, and knew that *the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world*, had taken away their sins.

Sunday 13, I began expounding in the morning, the xiiith chap. of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. At Hannam I farther explained the promise given by faith; as I did also at Rose-green. At Clifton in pleased God to assist me greatly in speaking on those words, *He that drinketh of this water shall thirst again; but whoso drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water which I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.*

My ordinary employment, in public, was now as follows: Every morning I read prayers and preached at Newgate. Every evening I expounded a portion of Scripture, at one or more of the societies. On Monday in the afternoon I preached abroad near Bristol; on Tuesday at Bath and Two-Mile-hill alternately; on Wednesday at Baptist-Mills; every other Thursday near Pensford; every other Friday in another part of Kingswood; on Saturday in the afternoon and Sunday morning, in the Bowling-green, which lies near the middle of the city; on Sunday at eleven near Hannam-mount; at two at Clifton; and at five on Rose-green. And hitherto, *as my day is, so my strength hath been.*

Tuesday 15, As I was expounding in the Back-lane, on the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, many who had before been righteous in their own eyes, abhorred themselves as in dust and ashes. But two, who seemed to be more deeply convinced than the rest, did not long sorrow as men without hope; but found in that hour that they had *an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous;* as did three others in Gloucester-lane the evening before, and three at Baldwin-street this evening. About ten, two who, after having seen a great light, had again reasoned

themselves into darkness, came to us heavy laden; we cried to God, and they were again *filled with peace and joy in believing*.

Wednesday 16, While I was declaring at Baptist-Mills, *He was wounded for our transgressions*, a middle-aged man began violently beating his breast, and crying to him *by whose stripes we are healed*. During our prayer, God put a new song in his mouth. Some mocked, and others owned the hand of God; particularly a woman of Baptist-Mills, who was now convinced of her own want of an advocate with God, and went home full of anguish, but was in a few hours filled with joy, knowing he had *blotted out all her transgressions*.

The Scripture which came in turn at Newgate to-day, was the viith of St. John. The words which I chiefly insisted on, as applicable to every minister of Christ, who in any wise follows the steps of his Master, were these, *The world cannot hate you; but me it hateth, because I testify of it, that its deeds are evil. There was a murmuring, therefore, concerning him among the multitude; for some said, he is a good man; others said, nay, but he deceiveth the people*. After sermon, I was informed the Sheriffs had ordered, I should preach here for the future but once a week. Yea, and this is once too often, if *he deceiveth the people;* but if otherwise, why not once a day?

Saturday 19, At Weaver's-hall, a woman first, and then a boy about fourteen years of age, was overwhelmed with sin, and sorrow, and fear. But we cried to God and their souls were delivered.

Sunday 20, Seeing many of the rich at Clifton-church, my heart was much pained for them, and I was earnestly desirous that some, even of them, might *enter into the kingdom of heaven*. But full as I was, I knew not where to begin, in warning them to flee from the wrath to come, till my Testament opened on these words, *I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance:* In applying which, my soul was so enlarged, that methought I could have cried out (in another sense than poor vain Archi-

medes), "Give me where to stand, and I will shake the earth." God's sending forth lightning with the rain, did not hinder about fifteen hundred from staying at Rose-green. Our scripture was, *It is the glorious God that maketh the thunder. The voice of the Lord is mighty in operation; the voice of the Lord is a glorious voice.* In the evening, he spoke to three whose souls were all storm and tempest, and immediately there was a great calm.

During this whole time, I was almost continually asked, either by those who purposely came to Bristol, to enquire concerning this strange work, or by my old or new correspondents, *How can these things be?* And innumerable cautions were given me, generally grounded on gross misrepresentations of things, "Not to regard visions or dreams; nor to fancy people had remission of sins, because of their cries or tears, or bare outward professions." To one who had many times wrote to me on this head, the sum of my answer was as follows:

"The question between us turns chiefly, if not wholly, on matter of fact. You deny that God does *now* work *these* effects; at least that he works them in *this* manner. I affirm both; because I have heard these things with my own ears, and seen them with my eyes, I have seen, as far as a thing of this kind can be seen, very many persons changed in a moment, from the spirit of fear, horror, despair, to the spirit of love, joy, and peace; and from sinful desire, till then reigning over them, to a pure desire of doing the will of God. These are matters of fact, whereof I have been, and almost daily am, an eye or ear-witness. What I have to say, touching visions or dreams, is this: I know several persons in whom this great change was wrought in a dream, or during a strong representation to the eye of their mind, of Christ either on the cross or in glory. This is the fact; let any judge of it as they please. And that such a change was *then* wrought, appears, not from their shedding tears only, or falling into fits, or crying out: These are not the fruits, as you seem to suppose, whereby I judge, but from the whole tenor of their life,

till then, many ways wicked; *from that time*, holy, just, and good.

"I will shew you him that was a lion *till then*, and is now a lamb; him that was a drunkard, and is now exemplarily sober; the whoremonger that was, who now abhors the very garment spotted by the flesh. These are my living arguments for what I assert, viz. *That God does now, as aforetime, give remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost, even to us and to our children: yea and that, always suddenly, as far as I have known, and often in dreams or in the visions of God.* If it be not so, I am found a false witness before God. For these things I do, and by his grace will testify."

Perhaps it might be, because of the hardness of our hearts, unready to receive any thing, unless we see it with our eyes and hear it with our ears, that God, in tender condescension to our weakness, suffered so many outward signs at the very time when he wrought this inward change, to be continually seen and heard among us. But although they saw signs and wonders (for so I must term them), yet many would not believe. They could not indeed *deny* the facts; but they could *explain* them away. Some said, "These were purely *natural* effects; the people fainted away, only because of the heat and closeness of the rooms." And others were sure, "It was all a cheat; they might help it if they would. Else why were these things only in their private societies? why were they not done in the face of the sun?" To-day, Monday 21, our Lord answered for himself; for while I was enforcing these words, *Be still, and know that I am God*, he began to make bare his arm, not in a close room, neither in private, but in the open air, and before more than two thousand witnesses. One and another and another was struck to the earth; exceedingly trembling at the presence of his power. Others cried, with a loud and bitter cry, *What must we do to be saved?* And in less than an hour, seven persons, wholly unknown to me till that time, were rejoicing and singing, and with all their might giving thanks to the God of their salvation.

In the evening, I was interrupted at Nicholas-street, almost as soon as I had begun to speak, by the cries of one who was *pricked at the heart*, and strongly groaned for pardon and peace. Yet I went on to declare what God had already done, in proof of that important truth, that he is *not willing any should perish, but that all should come to repentance*. Another person dropped down close to one who was a strong asserter of the contrary doctrine. While he stood astonished at the sight, a little boy near him was seized in the same manner. A young man who stood behind, fixed his eyes on him, and sunk down himself as one dead; but soon began to roar out and beat himself against the ground, so that six men could scarcely hold him. His name was Thomas Maxfield. Except J— H——n, I never saw one so torn of the evil one. Mean while many others began to cry out to the *Saviour of all* that he would come and help them, insomuch that all the house, and indeed all the street, for some space, was in an uproar. But we continued in prayer; and before ten, the greater part found rest to their souls.

I was called from supper to one who feeling in herself such a conviction as she never had known before, had run out of the society in all haste, that she might not expose herself. But the hand of God followed her still, so that after going a few steps, she was forced to be carried home, and when she was there, grew worse and worse. She was in a violent agony when we came. We called upon God, and her soul found rest.

About twelve I was greatly importuned to go and visit one person more. She had only one struggle after I came, and was then filled with peace and joy. I think twenty-nine in all had their heaviness turned into joy this day.

Tuesday 22, I preached to about a thousand at Bath. There were several fine gay things among them, to whom especially I called, *Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light!*

Saturday 26, One came to us in deep despair; but after

an hour spent in prayer, went away in peace. The next day, having observed in many a zeal which did not suit with the sweetness and gentleness of love, I preached at Rose-green on those words, to the largest congregation I ever had there, I believe upwards of ten thousand souls,—*Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.* At the society in the evening eleven were deeply convinced of sin, and soon after comforted.

Monday 28, I began preaching at Weaver's-hall, at eleven in the forenoon; where two persons were enabled to cry out in faith, *My Lord, and my God!* As were seven during the sermon in the afternoon, before several thousand witnesses; and ten in the evening at Baldwin-street; of whom two were children.

Tuesday 29, I was unknowingly engaged in conversation with a famous Infidel, a confirmer of the unfaithful in these parts. He appeared a little surprised, and said, he would pray to God to shew him the true way of worshipping him.

On Ascension-day in the morning, some of us went to King's-Weston-Hill, four or five miles from Bristol. Two gentlemen going by, sent up to us in sport, many persons from the neighbouring villages; to whom I therefore took occasion to explain those words, *Thou art ascended up on high, thou hast led captivity captive; and received gifts for men, yea even for the rebellious, that the Lord might dwell among them.*

Sunday, June 3, In the morning to about six thousand persons, in concluding the xiiith chap. of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, I described a truly charitable man. At Hannam I enforced these words, *That every mouth may be stopped, and all the world become guilty before God.* And again in the afternoon at Rose-green, to I believe eight or nine thousand. In the evening, not being permitted to meet in Baldwin-street, we met in the shell of our new society-

room. The scripture which came in course to be explained was, *Marvel not if the world hate you.* We sung

Arm of the Lord, awake, awake,
Thine own immortal strength put on:

And God, even our own God, gave us his blessing.

Monday 4, Many came to me and earnestly advised me, "Not to preach abroad in the afternoon, because there was a combination of several persons, who threatened terrible things." This report being spread abroad brought many thither, of *the better sort of people* (so called) and added, I believe more than a thousand, to the ordinary congregation. The scripture to which, not my choice, but the Providence of God directed me was, *Fear not thou, for I am with thee: be not dismayed, for I am thy God. I will strengthen thee, yea, I will help thee, yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness.* The power of God came with his word: so that none scoffed, or interrupted, or opened his mouth.

Tuesday 5, There was great expectation at Bath, of what a noted man was to do to me there: And I was much entreated, "Not to preach; because no one knew what might happen." By this report I also gained a much larger audience, among whom were many of the rich and great. I told them plainly, *The Scripture* had *concluded* them *all under sin*, high and low, rich and poor, one with another. Many of them seemed to be not a little surprised, and were sinking a-pace into seriousness, when their champion appeared, and coming close to me, asked, "By what authority I did these things?" I replied, by the authority of Jesus Christ, conveyed to me by the (now) Archbishop of Canterbury, when he laid his hands upon me, and said, "Take thou authority to preach the Gospel." He said, "This is contrary to Act of Parliament. This is a Conventicle." I answered, "Sir, the Conventicles mentioned in that Act (as the preamble shews) are seditious meetings. But this is not such. Here is no shadow of sedition. Therefore it is not contrary to that Act." He replied, "I say it is. And beside, your preaching frightens people out of

their wits." "Sir, did you ever hear me preach?" "No." "How then can you judge of what you never heard?" "Sir, by common report. Common report is enough." "Give me leave, Sir, to ask, Is not your name Nash?" "My name is Nash." "Sir, I dare not judge of you by common report. I think it is not enough to judge by." Here he paused a while, and having recovered himself, asked, "I desire to know, what this people comes here for?" On which one replied, "Sir, leave him to me. Let an old woman answer him." "You, Mr. Nash, take care of your body. We take care of our souls, and for the food of our souls we come here." He replied not a word, but walked away.

As I returned, the street was full of people, hurrying to and fro, and speaking great words. But when any of them asked, "Which is he?" and I replied, "I am he," they were immediately silent. Several ladies following me into Mr. Merchant's house, the servant told me, "There were some wanted to speak with me." I went to them, and said, "I believe, ladies, the maid mistook: you only wanted to look at me." I added, "I do not expect that the rich and great should want either to speak with *me*, or to hear *me*, for I speak the plain truth; a thing *you* hear little of, and do not desire to hear." A few more words passed between us, and I retired.

Thursday 7, I preached at Priestdown, on, *What must we do to be saved?* In the midst of the prayer after sermon, two men, (hired, as we afterwards understood, for that purpose) began singing a ballad. After a few mild words (for I saw some that were angry) used without effect, we all began singing a psalm which put them utterly to silence. We then poured out our souls in prayer for them, and they appeared altogether confounded. O may this be a day much to be remembered by them, for the loving-kindness of the Lord!

Monday 11, I received a pressing letter from London (as I had several others before) to come thither as soon as possible: "Our brethren in Fetter Lane being in great con-

fusion for want of my presence and advice." I therefore preached in the afternoon on those words, *I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men; for I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God.* After sermon, I commended them to the grace of God, in whom they had believed. Surely God hath yet a work to do in this place. I have not found such love, no not in England; nor so childlike, artless, teachable a temper, as He hath given to this people.

Yet, during this whole time, I had many thoughts, concerning the unusual manner of my ministring among them. But after frequently laying it before the Lord, and calmly weighing whatever objections I heard against it, I could not but adhere to what I had some time since written to a friend, who had freely spoken his sentiments concerning it. An extract of that letter I here subjoin; that the matter may be placed in a clear light.

"DEAR SIR,

"THE best return I can make for the kind freedom you use, is to use the same to you. O may the God whom we serve, sanctify it to us both, and teach us the whole truth as it is in Jesus!

"You say, 'You cannot reconcile some parts of my behaviour with the character I have long supported.' No, nor ever will. Therefore I have disclaimed that character on every possible occasion. I told all in our ship, all at Savannah, all at Frederica, and that over and over, in express terms, 'I am not a Christian: I only follow after, if I haply may attain it.' When they urged my works and self-denial, I answered short, *Though I give all my goods to feed the poor, and my body to be burned, I am nothing.* For I have not charity. I do not love God with all my heart. If they added, 'Nay, but you could not preach as you do, if you were not a Christian:' I again confronted them with St. Paul, *Though I speak with the tongue of men and angels, and have not charity, I am nothing.* Most earnestly therefore, both in public and pri-

vate did I inculcate this, 'Be not ye shaken however I may fall; for the foundation standeth sure.'

"If you ask, 'On what principle then I acted?' It was this, 'A desire to be a Christian, and a conviction that whatever I judge conducive thereto, that I am bound to do; wherever I judge I can best answer this end, thither it is my duty to go.' On this principle I set out for America; on this, I visited the Moravian-church; and on the same, am I ready now (God being my helper) to go to Abyssinia or China, or whithersoever it shall please God by this conviction to call me.

"As to your advice, 'That I should settle in college,' I have no business there, having now no office, and no pupils. And whether the other branch of your proposal be expedient for me, viz. 'To accept of a cure of souls,' it will be time enough to consider, when one is offered to me.

"But in the mean time, you think 'I ought to sit still; because otherwise I should invade another's office, if I interfered with other people's business and intermeddled with souls that did not belong to me.' You accordingly ask, 'How is it that I assemble Christians who are none of my charge, to sing psalms and pray and hear the Scriptures expounded: and think it hard to justify doing this in other men's parishes, upon Catholic principles?'

"Permit me to speak plainly. If by Catholic principles, you mean any other than Scriptural, they weigh nothing with *me:* I allow no other rule, whether of faith or practice, than the Holy Scriptures. But on scriptural principles, I do not think it hard, to justify whatever I do. God in Scripture commands me, according to my power, to instruct the ignorant, reform the wicked, confirm the virtuous. Man forbids me to do this, in another's parish; that is, in effect, to do it at all; seeing I have now no parish of my own, nor probably ever shall. Whom then shall I hear? God or man? *If it be just to obey man rather than God, judge you. A dispensation of the Gospel is committed to me, and woe is me if I preach not the Gospel.* But where shall I preach it upon the principles

you mention? Why, not in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America: not in any of the Christian parts, at least, of the habitable earth. For all these are, after a sort, divided into parishes. If it be said, 'Go back then to the Heathens from whence you came.' Nay, but neither could I now, on your principles, preach to them. For all the Heathens in Georgia belong to the parish either of Savannah or Frederica.

"Suffer me now, to tell you *my* principles in this matter. I look upon *all the world* as *my parish;* thus far I mean, that in whatever part of it I am, I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty, to declare unto all, that are willing to hear, the glad tidings of salvation. This is the work which I know God has called me to. And sure I am, that his blessing attends it. Great encouragement have I therefore to be faithful, in fulfilling the work He hath given me to do. His servant I am, and as such am employed according to the plain direction of his word, *As I have opportunity of doing good unto all men.* And his providence clearly concurs with his word; which has disengaged me from all things else, that I might singly attend on this very thing, *and go about doing good.*

"If you ask, 'How can this be? How can one do good, of whom *men say all manner of evil?*' I will put you in mind, (though you once knew this, yea, and much established me in that great truth) the more evil men say of me for my Lord's sake, the more good will He do by me. That it is *for his sake* I know and He knoweth, and the event agreeth thereto; for He mightily confirms the words I speak, by the Holy Ghost given unto those that hear them. O my friend, my heart is moved toward you. I fear, you have herein made shipwreck of the faith. I fear, *Satan transformed into an angel of light,* hath assaulted you, and prevailed also. I fear, that offspring of hell, *worldly* or *mystic prudence,* has drawn you away from the simplicity of the Gospel. How else could you ever conceive, that the being reviled and *hated of all men,* should make us less fit for our Master's service? How else could

you ever think, of *saving yourself and them that hear you*, without being *the filth and offscouring of the world?* To this hour is this scripture true. And I therein rejoice, yea, and *will* rejoice. Blessed be God, I enjoy the reproach of Christ! O may you also be vile, exceeding vile for his sake! God forbid that you should ever be other than *generally* scandalous. I had almost said, *universally*. If any man tell you, there is a new way of following Christ, *he is a liar and the truth is not in him.* *I am, &c.*"

Wednesday 13, In the morning I came to London, and after receiving the Holy Communion at Islington, I had once more an opportunity of seeing my mother, whom I had not seen since my return from Germany.

I cannot but mention an odd circumstance here. I had read her a paper in June last year, containing a short account of what had passed in my own soul, until within a few days of that time. She greatly approved it, and said, "She heartily blessed God, who had brought me to so just a way of thinking." While I was in Germany, a copy of that paper was sent, without my knowledge, to one of my relations. He sent an account of it to my mother; whom I found now under strange fears concerning me, being convinced by "an account taken from one of my own papers, that I had greatly erred from the faith." I could not conceive, what paper that should be; but on enquiry, found it was the same I had read her myself.—— How hard is it, to form a true judgment of any person or thing, from the account of a prejudiced relater! Yea, though he be ever so honest a man: for he who gave this relation, was one of unquestionable veracity. And yet by his *sincere* account of a writing which lay before his eyes, was the truth so totally disguised, that my mother knew not the paper she had heard from beginning to end, nor I that I had myself written.

At six I warned the women at Fetter-lane (knowing how they had been lately shaken) *Not to believe every spirit, but to try the spirits, whether they were of God.* Our brethren met at eight, when it pleased God to remove many

misunderstandings and offences that had crept in among them: and to restore in good measure *the spirit of love and of a sound mind.*

Thursday 14, I went with Mr. Whitefield to Blackheath, where were, I believe, 12 or 14,000 people. He a little surprised me, by desiring me to preach in his stead; which I did, though nature recoiled, on my favourite subject, *Jesus Christ, who of God is made unto us, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.*

I was greatly moved with compassion for the rich that were there, to whom I made a particular application. Some of them seemed to attend, while others drove away their coaches, from so uncouth a preacher.

Friday 15, I had much talk with one who is called a Quaker. But he could not receive my saying. I was too strict for him, and talked of such a perfection, as he could not think necessary: being persuaded, there was no harm in costly apparel, provided it was plain and grave: nor in putting scarlet or gold upon our houses, so it were not upon our clothes.

In the evening I went to a Society at Wapping, weary in body and faint in spirit. I intended to speak on Romans iii. 19, but could not tell how to open my mouth: and all the time we were singing, my mind was full of some place, I knew not where, in the Epistle to the Hebrews. I begged God to direct, and opened the book on Heb. x. 19, *Having therefore, brethren, boldness, to enter into the holiest, by the blood of Jesus; by a new and living way which he hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, his flesh.——Let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith; having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water.* While I was earnestly inviting all sinners to *enter into the holiest by this new and living way*, many of those that heard, began to call upon God, with strong cries and tears. Some sunk down, and there remained no strength in them; others exceedingly trembled and quaked; some were torn with a kind of convulsive motion, in every part of their

bodies, and that so violently that often four or five persons could not hold one of them. I have seen many hysterical and many epileptic fits; but none of them were like these, in many respects. I immediately prayed, "That God would not suffer those who were weak to be offended." But one woman was offended greatly; being sure "they might help it if they would, no one should persuade her to the contrary;" and was got three or four yards, when she also dropt down, in as violent an agony as the rest. Twenty-six of those who had been thus affected, (most of whom during the prayers which were made for them, were in a moment filled with peace and joy) promised to call upon me the next day. But only eighteen came; by talking closely with whom I found reason to believe, that some of them had gone home to their houses justified. The rest seemed to be patiently waiting for it.

Saturday 16, We met at Fetter-lane, to humble ourselves before God, and own he had justly withdrawn his Spirit from us, for our manifold unfaithfulness. We acknowledged our having grieved Him by our divisions, *one saying, I am of* Paul, *another, I am of* Apollos; by our leaning again to our own works, and trusting in them, instead of Christ; by our resting in those little beginnings of sanctification, which it had pleased Him to work in our souls; and above all, by blaspheming his work among us, imputing it either to nature, to the force of imagination and animal spirits, or even to the delusion of the devil. In that hour, we found God with us as at the first. Some fell prostrate upon the ground. Others burst out, as with one consent, into loud praise and thanksgiving. And many openly testified, there had been no such day as this, since January the first preceding.

Sunday 17, I preached at seven in Upper Moorfields, to (I believe) six or seven thousand people, on, *Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.* In the afternoon I saw poor R—— T——, who had left our Society, and the Church. We did not dispute, but pray; and in a short space the scales fell off from his eyes. He gladly

returned to the church, and was in the evening re-admitted into our Society.

At five I preached on Kennington-common, to about fifteen thousand people, on those words, *Look unto Him, and be ye saved all the ends of the earth.*

Monday 18, I left London early in the morning, and the next evening reached Bristol, and preached, as I had appointed, if God should permit, to a numerous congregation. My text now also was, *Look unto him, and be ye saved all the ends of the earth.* Howel Harris called upon me an hour or two after. He said, he had been much dissuaded from either hearing or seeing me, by many who said all manner of evil of me. "But," said he, "as soon as I heard you preach, I quickly found what spirit you were of. And before you had done, I was so overpowered with joy and love, that I had much ado to walk home."

It is scarce credible, what advantage Satan had gained during my absence of only eight days. Disputes had crept into our little society, so that the love of many was already waxed cold. I shewed them the state they were in the next day, both at Newgate and at Baptist-Mills, from those words, *Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat.* And when we met in the evening, instead of reviving the dispute, we all betook ourselves to prayer. Our Lord was with us. Our divisions were healed. Misunderstandings vanished away. And all our hearts were sweetly drawn together, and united as at the first.

Friday 22, I called on one who did run well till he was hindered by some of those called French Prophets. *Wo unto the prophets, saith the Lord, who prophesy in my name, and I have not sent them.* At Weavers'-Hall, I endeavoured to point them out, and earnestly exhorted all that followed after holiness, to avoid, as fire, all who do not speak according *to the law and the testimony.*

In the afternoon I preached at the Fish-ponds, but had no life or spirit in me; and was much in doubt whether God would not lay me aside, and send other labourers into

his harvest. I came to the society full of this thought; and began in much weakness to explain, *Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they be of God.* I told them, they were not to judge of the spirit whereby any one spoke, either by appearances, or by common report, or by their own inward feelings. No, nor by any dreams, visions, or revelations, supposed to be made to their souls, any more than by their tears, or any involuntary effects wrought upon their bodies. I warned them, all these were in themselves, of a doubtful disputable nature; they *might* be from God, and they *might not;* and were therefore not simply to be relied on, any more than simply to be condemned, but to be tried by a farther rule, to be brought to the only certain test, the law and the testimony. While I was speaking, one before me droped down as dead, and presently a second and a third. Five others sunk down in half an hour, most of whom were in violent agonies. *The pains as of hell came about them; the snares of death overtook them.* In their trouble we called upon the Lord, and he gave us an answer of peace. One indeed continued an hour in strong pain; and one or two more for three days. But the rest were greatly comforted in that hour, and went away rejoicing and praising God.

Saturday 23, I spoke severally with those who had been so troubled the night before. Some of them I found were only convinced of sin; others had indeed found rest to their souls. This evening another was seized with strong pangs; but in a short time her soul also was delivered.

Sunday 24, As I was riding to Rose-green, in a smooth, plain part of the road, my horse suddenly pitched upon his head, and rolled over and over. I received no other hurt than a little bruise on one side, which for the present I felt not, but preached without pain to six or seven thousand people on that important direction, *Whether ye eat or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God.* In the evening a girl of thirteen or fourteen, and four or five other persons, some of whom had felt the power of God before, were deeply convinced of sin, and with sighs and

groans, which could not be uttered, called upon God for deliverance.

Monday 25, About ten in the morning, J—e C—r, as she was sitting at work, was suddenly seized with grievous terrors of mind, attended with strong trembling. Thus she continued all the afternoon; but at the society in the evening God turned her heaviness into joy. Five or six others were also cut to the heart this day; and soon after found *him whose hands make whole;* as did one likewise who had been mourning many months without any to comfort her.

Tuesday 26, I preached near the house we had a few days before began to build for a school, in the middle of Kingswood, under a little sycamore-tree, during a violent storm of rain, on those words, *As the rain cometh down from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth and maketh it bring forth and bud: So shall my word be that goeth out of my mouth; it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it.*

Three persons terribly felt the wrath of God abiding on them, at the society this evening; but upon prayer made in their behalf, he was pleased soon to lift up the light of his countenance upon them.

Friday 29, I preached in a part of Kingswood where I never had been before. The places in Kingswood where I now usually preached were these: once a fortnight, a little above Connam, a village on the south-side of the wood; on Sunday morning, near Hannam-mount; once a fortnight, at the school-house, in the middle of Kingswood; on Sunday in the evening at Rose-green; and once a fortnight near the Fish-ponds, on the north side of the wood.

Saturday 30, At Weavers'-Hall, seven or eight persons were constrained to roar aloud, while the sword of the Spirit was *dividing asunder their souls and spirits, and joints and marrow.* But they were all relieved upon prayer, and sang *praises unto our God and unto the Lamb that liveth for ever and ever.*

I gave a particular account, from time to time, of the manner wherein God here carried on his work to those whom I believed to desire the increase of his kingdom, with whom I had any opportunity of corresponding. Part of the answer which I received some time after from one of these I cannot but here subjoin:

"I desire to bless my Lord for the good and great news your letter bears, about the Lord's turning many souls *from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God;* and that such *a great and effectual door is opened* among you, as the *many adversaries* cannot shut. O may *he that hath the key of the house of David, that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth,* set the door of faith more and more open among you, till his house be filled, and till he gather together the outcasts of Israel! And may that prayer for the adversaries be heard, *Fill their faces with shame that they may seek thy name, O Lord!*

"As to the outward manner you speak of, wherein most of them were affected who were cut to the heart by the sword of the Spirit, no wonder that this was at first surprising to you, since they are indeed so very rare, that have been thus pricked and wounded. Yet some of the instances you give, seem to be exemplified, in the outward manner wherein Paul and the jailor were at first affected: As also Peter's hearers, Acts ii. The last instance you gave, of some struggling as in the agonies of death, and in such a manner as that four or five strong men can hardly restrain a weak woman from hurting herself or others: this is to me somewhat more inexplicable: if it do not resemble the child spoken of, Mark ix. 26. and Luke ix. 42. Of whom it is said, that *while he was yet a coming, the devil threw him down and tore him.* Or what influence sudden and sharp awakenings may have upon the body I pretend not to explain. But I make no question Satan, so far as he gets power, may exert himself on such occasions, partly to hinder the good work in the persons who are thus touched with the sharp arrows of conviction, and partly to dis-

parage the work of God, as if it tended to lead people to distraction.—However, the merciful issue of these conflicts in the conversion of the persons thus affected, is the main thing.

"When they are brought by the saving arm of God to receive Christ Jesus, to have joy and peace in believing, and then to walk in Him, and give evidence that the work is a saving work at length, whether more quickly or gradually accomplished, there is great matter of praise.——

"All the outward appearances of people's being affected among us, may be reduced to these two sorts; one is, hearing with a close, silent attention, with gravity and greediness, discovered by fixed looks, weeping eyes, and sorrowful or joyful countenances: another sort, is when they lift up their voice aloud, some more depressedly, and others more highly; and at times, the whole multitude in a flood of tears, all as it were crying out at once, until their voice be ready to drown the minister's, that he can scarce be heard for the weeping noise that surrounds him.—The influence on some of these, like a land-flood, dries up; we hear of no change wrought. But in others, it appears in the fruits of righteousness, and the tract of a holy conversation.—

"May the Lord strengthen you, to go on in his work! And in praying for the coming of his kingdom with you and us, and I hope you shall not be forgotten among us, in our joint applications to the throne of grace.

"I am, reverend and dear Sir,

"Your very affectionate brother and servant in Christ,

"RALPH ERSKINE."

Sunday, July 1, I preached to about five thousand, on that favourite advice of the infidel in Ecclesiastes (so zealously enforced by his brethren now) *Be not righteous overmuch.* At Hannam and at Rose-green I explained the latter part of the viith chapter of St. Luke: that verse especially, *When they had nothing to pay, He frankly forgave them both.*

A young woman sunk down at Rose-green, in a violent agony both of body and mind: as did five or six persons in the evening at the New Room, at whose cries many were greatly offended. The same offence was given in the morning by one at Weavers'-Hall, and by eight or nine others, at Gloucester-lane, in the evening. The first that was deeply touched was L— W—; whose mother had been not a little displeased a day or two before, when she was told, how her daughter had *exposed herself* before all the congregation: the mother herself was the next, who dropped down, and lost her senses in a moment; but went home with her daughter, full of joy, as did most of those who had been in pain.

Soon after the Society, I went to Mrs. T—'s, whose nearest relations were earnestly dissuading her, from being *righteous over-much;* and by the old motive, *Why shouldest thou destroy thyself?* She answered all they advanced with meekness and love, and continued steadfast and immovable. Endure hardship still, thou good soldier of Christ! Persecuted, but not forsaken: torn with inward, and encompassed with outward temptations: but yielding to none. O may patience have its perfect work!

Tuesday 3, I preached at Bath to the most attentive and serious audience I have ever seen there. On Wednesday I preached at Newgate on those words, *Because of the Pharisees, they durst not confess him.—For they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God.* A message was delivered to me when I had done, from the Sheriffs, that I must preach there no more.

Friday 6, I pressed a serious Quaker to tell me, why he did not come to hear me as formerly? He said, "Because he found we were not led by the Spirit; for we fixed times of preaching before-hand; whereas we ought to do nothing unless we were sensibly moved thereto by the Holy Ghost." I asked, "Whether we ought not to do what God in Scripture commands, when we have opportunity? Whether the Providence of God thus concurring with his word

was not a sufficient reason for our doing it, although we were not at that moment, sensibly moved thereto by the Holy Ghost?" He answered, "It was not a sufficient reason. This was to regard *the letter that killeth*." God grant that I may so regard it all the days of my life.

In the afternoon I was with Mr. Whitefield, just come from London, with whom I went to Baptist-Mills, where he preached concerning the Holy Ghost, *which all who believe are to receive;* not without a just, though severe, censure of those who preach as if there were no Holy Ghost.

Saturday 7, I had an opportunity to talk with him of those outward signs which had so often accompanied the inward work of God. I found his objections were chiefly grounded on gross misrepresentations of matter of fact. But the next day he had an opportunity of informing himself better. For no sooner had he begun, in the application of his sermon, to invite all sinners to believe in Christ, than four persons sunk down close to him, almost in the same moment. One of them lay without either sense or motion. A second trembled exceedingly. The third had strong convulsions all over his body, but made no noise unless by groans. The fourth, equally convulsed, called upon God with strong cries and tears. From this time, I trust, we shall all suffer God, to carry on his own work in the way that pleaseth him.

Thursday 13, I went to a gentleman who is much troubled with what they call *lowness of spirits*. Many such have I been with before; but in several of them it was no bodily distemper. They wanted something, they knew not what, and were therefore heavy, uneasy, and dissatisfied with every thing. The plain truth is, they wanted God. they wanted Christ, they wanted faith. And God convinced them of their want, in a way their physicians no more understood than themselves. Accordingly nothing availed till the Great Physician came. For in spite of all natural means, he who made them for himself, would not suffer them to rest till they rested in him.

On Friday in the afternoon I left Bristol with Mr. Whitefield, in the midst of heavy rain. But the clouds soon dispersed, so that we had a fair, calm evening, and a serious congregation at Thornbury.

In the morning we breakfasted with a Quaker, who had been brought up in the Church of England: but being under strong convictions of inward sin, and applying to several persons for advice, they all judged him to be under a disorder of body, and gave advice accordingly. Some Quakers with whom he met about the same time, told him it was the hand of God upon his soul; and advised him to seek another sort of relief than those miserable comforters had recommended. *Wo unto you, ye blind leaders of the blind!* How long will ye pervert the right ways of the Lord? Ye who tell the mourners in Zion, much religion hath made you mad! Ye who send them whom God hath wounded to the devil for cure; to company, idle books or diversions! Thus shall they perish in their iniquity; but their blood shall God require at your hands!

We had an attentive congregation at Gloucester, in the evening. In the morning, Mr. Whitefield being gone forward, I preached to about five thousand there, on, *Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption.* It rained violently at five in the evening; notwithstanding which, two or three thousand people stayed, to whom I expounded that glorious vision of Ezekiel, of the resurrection of the dry bones.

On Monday 16, After preaching to two or three thousand on, *What must I do to be saved?* I returned to Bristol, and preached to about three thousand, on those words of Job, *There the wicked cease from troubling; there the weary are at rest.*

Tuesday 17, I rode to Bradford, five miles from Bath, whither I had been long invited to come. I waited on the minister, and desired leave to preach in his church. He said, "It was not usual to preach on the week days: but

if I could come thither on a Sunday, he should be glad of my assistance." Thence I went to a gentleman in the town, who had been present when I preached at Bath, and with the strongest marks of sincerity and affection, wished me good luck in the name of the Lord: But it was past. I found him now quite cold. He began disputing on several heads, and at last told me plainly, one of our college had informed him, "They always took me to be a little crack-brained at Oxford."

However some persons who were not of his mind, having pitched on a convenient place, called Bear-field or Bury-field, on the top of the hill under which the town lies: I there offered Christ to about a thousand people, for wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. Thence I returned to Bath, and preached on, *What must I do to be saved?* to a larger audience than ever before. I was wondering the god of this world was so still: when at my return from the place of preaching, poor R—— M—— told me, he could not let me preach any more in his ground. I asked him, why? He said, "The people hurt his trees, and stole things out of his ground. And besides, added he, I have already by letting thee be here, merited the displeasure of my neighbours." O fear of man! who is above thee, but they who indeed *worship God in spirit and in truth?* Not even those who have one foot in the grave! Not even those who dwell in rooms of cedar; and who have heaped up gold as the dust, and silver as the sand of the sea!

Saturday 21, I began expounding a second time our Lord's sermon upon the Mount. In the morning, Sunday 22, as I was explaining, *Blessed are the pure in spirit*, to about three thousand people, we had a fair opportunity of shewing all men, what manner of spirit we were of: For in the middle of the sermon, the press-gang came, and seized on one of the hearers; (ye learned in the law, what becomes of *Magna Charta*, and of *English liberty and property?* Are not these mere sounds, while, on any pretence, there is such a thing as a press-gang suffered in the

land?) all the rest standing still, and none opening his mouth or lifting up his hand to resist them.

Monday 23, To guard young converts from fancying, that they had already attained or were already perfect, I preached on those words, *So is the kingdom of God, as when a man casteth seed into the ground—And riseth day and night, and the seed buddeth forth and springeth up he knoweth not how—first the blade, then the ear, then full corn in the ear.*

On several evenings this week, and particularly on Friday, many were deeply convinced; but none were delivered from that painful conviction, *The children came to the birth; but there was not strength to bring forth.* I fear we have grieved the Spirit of the jealous God, by questioning his work; and that, therefore, he is withdrawn from us for a season. *But He will return, and abundantly pardon.*

Monday 30, Two more were in strong pain, both their souls and bodies being well nigh torn asunder. But though we cried unto God, there was no answer, neither did He as yet deliver them at all.

One of these had been remarkably zealous against those that cried out and made a noise, being sure that *any of them might help it if they would.* And the same opinion she was in still, until the moment she was struck through as with a sword, and fell trembling to the ground. She then cried aloud, though not articulately, her words being swallowed up. In this pain she continued twelve or fourteen hours, and then her soul was set at liberty. But her master (for she was a servant until that time, at a gentleman's in town) forbid her returning to him, saying, "He would have none in his house, who had received the Holy Ghost."

Tuesday 31, I preached at Bradford to above two thousand, many of whom were of the better rank, on *What must I do to be saved?* They all behaved with decency, and none went away until the service was ended. While I was preaching at Bath, in my return, some of the audience did

not behave so well, being, I fear, a little too nearly concerned, when I came to the application of those words, *Not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised—whom all Asia and the world worship.*

Having "A Caution against Religious Delusion," put into my hands about this time, I thought it my duty to write to the author of it: which I accordingly did, in the following terms:

"REVEREND SIR,

"1. You charge me (for I am called a Methodist, and consequently included within your charge), with 'vain and confident boastings, rash, uncharitable censures, damning all who do not *feel* what I *feel;* not allowing men to be in a salvable state, unless they have experienced some *sudden* operation, which may be distinguished as the hand of God upon them, overpowering as it were the soul:' With 'denying men the use of God's creatures, which He hath appointed to be received with thanksgiving, and encouraging abstinence, prayer, and other religious exercises, to the neglect of the duties of our station.' O Sir, can you prove this charge upon me? The Lord shall judge in that day!

"2. I do indeed go out into the highways and hedges to call poor sinners to Christ. But not 'in a tumultuous manner;' not 'to the disturbance of the public peace, or the prejudice of families.' Neither herein do I break any law which I know; much less 'set at nought all rule and authority.' Nor can I be said to 'intrude into the labours' of those who do not labour at all; but suffer thousands of those for whom Christ died, to *perish for lack of knowledge.*

"3. They perish for want of knowing, that *we* as well as the heathens, *are alienated from the life of God:* that *every one of us,* by the corruption of our inmost nature, *is very far gone from original righteousness;* so far, that

every person born into the world, deserveth God's wrath and damnation: that we have by nature no power either to help ourselves, or even to call upon God to help us; all our tempers and works, in our natural state, being only evil continually. So that *our* coming to Christ, as well as *theirs, must infer a great and mighty change.* It must infer, not only an *outward change,* from stealing, lying, and all corrupt communication; but a thorough *change of heart,* an *inward* renewal in the spirit of our mind. Accordingly, *the old man* implies infinitely more than *outward evil conversation,* even *an evil heart of unbelief,* corrupted by pride, and a thousand deceitful lusts. Of consequence, the *new man* must imply infinitely more than *outward good conversation,* even *a good heart, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness:* a heart full of that faith, which, working by love, produces all holiness of conversation.

"4. The change from the former of these states to the latter, is what I call *the new birth.* But you say, 'I am not content with this plain and easy notion of it, but fill myself and others with fantastical conceits about it.' Alas, Sir, how can you prove this? And if you cannot prove it, what amends can you make, either to God, or to me, or to the world, for publicly asserting a gross falsehood?

"5. Perhaps you say, 'You can prove this of Mr. Whitefield?' What then? This is nothing to me. I am not accountable for *his* words. The journal you quote I never saw, until it was in print. But indeed you wrong him as much as me: first, where you represent him as judging the notions of the Quakers *in general* (concerning being led by the Spirit) to be right and good; whereas he speaks only of those *particular men* with whom he was then conversing. And again, where you say, he *supposes* a person *believing in Christ,*—to be without any *saving knowledge* of him. He *supposes* no such thing; *to believe in Christ* was the very thing he *supposed* wanting: as understanding that term *believing* to imply, not only an

assent to the articles of our creed, but also, *A true trust and confidence of the mercy of God through our Lord Jesus Christ.*

"6. Now this, it is certain, a man may want, although he can truly say, 'I am chaste, I am sober, I am just in my dealings, I help my neighbour, and use the ordinances of God.' And however such a man may have behaved in these respects, he is not to think well of his own state, till he experiences something within himself, which he has not yet experienced, but which he may be before-hand assured he shall, *if the promises of God are true.* That *something* is, *a living faith:* a sure trust and confidence in God, that by the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God. And from this will spring many other things, which until then he experienced not, as, the love of God shed abroad in his heart; the peace of God which passeth all understanding, and joy in the Holy Ghost, joy though not *unfelt*, yet *unspeakable*, and full of glory.

"7. These are some of those *inward fruits of the Spirit*, which must be *felt*, wheresoever they are: and without these, I cannot learn from holy writ, that any man is *born of the Spirit.* I beseech you, Sir, by the mercies of God, that if as yet you *know nothing of such inward feelings*, if you do not *feel in yourself these mighty workings of the Spirit of Christ*, at least you would not contradict and blaspheme. When the Holy Ghost hath fervently kindled *your* love towards God, you will know these to be very *sensible* operations. *As you hear the wind, and feel it too, while it strikes upon your bodily organs*, you will know you are under the guidance of God's Spirit the same way, namely, by *feeling it in your soul:* by the present peace, and joy, and love, which you feel within, as well as by its outward and more distant effects.

"I am, &c."

I have often wished, that all calm and impartial men would consider what is advanced by another writer, in a

little discourse concerning enthusiasm or religious delusion, published about this time. His words are,

"A *minister* of our church, who may look upon it as his duty to warn his *parishioners*, or an *author* who may think it necessary to caution his readers against *such preachers*, or their doctrine (enthusiastic preachers, I suppose, such as he takes it for granted the Methodist preachers are), ought to be very careful to act with a *Christian spirit*, and to advance nothing but with *temper*, *charity*, and *truth*. —Perhaps the following rules may be proper to be observed by them:

"1. Not to *blame* persons for doing that now, which Scripture records *holy men* of old to have practised, lest had they lived in those times, they should have condemned them also.

"2. Not to censure persons in *holy orders*, for teaching the same doctrines which are taught in the *Scriptures* and by *our church*; lest they should ignorantly *censure* what they profess to *defend*.

"3. Not to censure any professed *members* of our church, who live *good lives*, for resorting to *religious assemblies* in private houses, to perform in society acts of *divine worship*; when the same seems to have been practised by the primitive Christians; and when, alas! there are so many parishes, where a person, *piously* disposed, has no opportunity of joining in the public service of our church, more than *one hour and a half* in a week.

"4. Not to *condemn* those who are constant attendants on the *communion* and *service* of our church, if they sometimes use *other prayers* in private assemblies: since the *best divines* of our church have composed and published many *prayers*, that have not the sanction of public authorities; which implies a general consent, that our church has not made provision for every private occasion.

"5. Not to establish the power of *working miracles* as the great criterion of a divine mission; when Scripture teaches us, that the agreement of doctrines with truth as taught in those Scriptures, is the only infallible rule.

"6. Not to drive any away from our *church*, by opprobriously calling them *dissenters*, or treating them as such, so long as they keep to her *communion*.

"7. Not lightly to take up with *silly stories* that may be propagated, to the discredit of persons of a general *good character*.

"I do not lay down," says he, "these *negative rules*, so much for the sake of any persons whom the unobservance of them would immediately injure, as of our *church* and her professed *defenders*. For church-men, however *well-meaning*, would lay themselves open to censure, and might do her *irretrievable damage*, by a behaviour contrary to them."

Friday, August 3, I met with one who *did* run well, but Satan had hindered her. I was surprised at her ingenuous acknowledgment of the fear of man. *O how hardly shall* even *they who have rich* acquaintance *enter into the kingdom of heaven!*

Sunday 5, Six persons at the New-room were deeply *convinced of sin:* three of whom were a little comforted by prayer; but not yet *convinced of righteousness.*

Having frequently been invited to Wells, particularly by Mr. ——, who begged me to make his house my home, on Thursday the 9th I went thither, and wrote him word the night before; upon which he presently went to one of his friends, and desired a messenger might be sent to meet me, and beg me "to turn back, otherwise," said he, "we shall lose all our trade." But this consideration did not weigh with him, so that he invited me to his own house: and at eleven I preached in his ground, on *Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption*, to about two thousand persons. Some of them mocked at first, whom I reproved before all; and those of them who stayed were more serious. Several spoke to me after, who were, for the present, much affected. O let it not pass away as the morning dew!

Friday 10, I had the satisfaction of conversing with a

Quaker, and afterwards with an Anabaptist, who, I trust, have had a large measure of the love of God shed abroad in their hearts. O may those, in every persuasion, who are of this spirit, increase a thousand-fold, how many soever they be!

Saturday 11, In the evening, two were seized with strong pangs, as were four the next evening, and the same number at Gloucester-lane on Monday, one of whom was greatly comforted.

Tuesday 14, I preached at Bradford to about three thousand, on *One thing is needful.* Returning through Bath, I preached to a small congregation suddenly gathered together at a little distance from the town (not being permitted to be in R—— M——'s ground any more), on *The just shall live by faith.* Three at the New-room, this evening, were cut to the heart. But their wound was not as yet healed.

Wednesday 15, I endeavoured to guard those who were in their first love, from falling into inordinate affection, by explaining those strange words at Baptist-mills, *Henceforth know we no man after the flesh.*

Friday 17, Many of our society met, as we had appointed, at one in the afternoon, and agreed, "That all the members of our society should obey the church to which we belong, by observing *all Fridays in the year, as days of fasting or abstinence.*" We likewise agreed, that as many as had opportunity should then meet, to spend an hour together in prayer.

Wednesday 22, I was with many that were in heaviness: two of whom were soon filled with peace and joy. In the afternoon I endeavoured to guard the weak against what too often occasions heaviness, levity of temper or behaviour, from, *I said of laughter, it is mad; and of mirth, what doth it?*

Monday 27, For two hours I took up my cross, in arguing with a zealous man, and labouring to convince him, "That I was not an enemy to the Church of England." He allowed, "I taught no other doctrines than those of the

Church;" but could not forgive my teaching them *out of the church walls*. He allowed too (which none indeed can deny, who has either any regard to truth, or sense of shame), "That by this teaching many souls who, till that time, were perishing for lack of knowledge, have been, and are brought from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God." But he added, "No one can tell, what *may be hereafter;* and *therefore* I say, these things ought not to be suffered."

Indeed, the report now current in Bristol was, "That I was a Papist, if not a Jesuit." Some added, "That I was born and bred at Rome;" which many cordially believed. O ye fools, when will ye understand, that the preaching *justification by faith alone*, the allowing no meritorious cause of justification, but the death and the righteousness of Christ, and no conditional or instrumental cause, but faith, is overturning Popery from the foundation? When will ye understand, that the most destructive of all those errors, which Rome, the mother of abominations, hath brought forth, compared to which, transubstantiation and a hundred more, are trifles light as air, is, *That we are justified by works*, or to express the same thing a little more decently, by faith *and* works. Now, do I preach *this?* I did for ten years: I was (fundamentally) a Papist, and knew it not. But I do now testify to all, (and it is the very point for asserting which I have to this day been called in question), "That no good works can be done before justification, none which have not in them the nature of sin."

I have often enquired, who are the authors of this report; and have generally found they were either bigotted dissenters, or (I speak without fear or favour) ministers of our own church. I have also frequently considered, what possible ground or motive they could have thus to speak: seeing few men in the world have had occasion so clearly and openly to declare their principles, as I have done; both by preaching, printing, and conversation, for several years last past. And I can no otherwise think, than that either they spoke thus (to put the most favourable construction

upon it) from gross ignorance; they knew not what Popery was; they knew not what doctrines those are which the Papists teach: or they wilfully spoke what they knew to be false, probably *thinking* thereby *to do God service.* Now, take this to yourselves, whosoever ye are, high or low, dissenters or churchmen, clergy or laity, who have advanced this shameless charge, and digest it how you can.

But how have ye not been afraid, if ye believe there is a God, and that He knoweth the secrets of your hearts, (I speak now to you preachers, more especially, of whatever denomination), to declare so gross, palpable a lie, in the name of the God of Truth? I cite you all, before the Judge of all the Earth, either publicly to prove your charge; or by publicly retracting it, to make the best amends you can, to God, to me, and to the world.

For the full satisfaction of those who have been abused by these shameless men, and almost brought to believe a lie, I will here add my serious judgment concerning the Church of Rome, written some time since to a priest of that communion:

"SIR,

"I RETURN you thanks both for the favour of your letter, and for your recommending my father's proposals to the Sorbonne.

"I have neither time nor inclination for controversy with any; but least of all with the Romanists. And that both because I cannot trust any of their quotations, without consulting every sentence they quote in the originals; and because the originals themselves can very hardly be trusted, in any of the points controverted between them and us. I am no stranger to their skill in *mending* those authors, who did not at first speak home to their purpose; as also in *purging* them from those passages which contradicted their emendations. And as they have not wanted opportunity to do this, so doubtless they have carefully used it, with regard to a point that so nearly concerned them, as the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. I am not therefore surprised, if the works of St. Cypiran, as they are called,

do strenuously maintain it: but I am, that they have not been better *corrected;* for they still contain passages that absolutely overthrow it. What gross negligence was it, to leave his seventy-fourth epistle (to Pompeianus) out of the *Index Expurgatorious?* wherein Pope Cyprian so flatly charges Pope Stephen, with *pride and obstinacy, and with being a defender of the cause of heretics, and that against Christians and the very church of God?* He that can reconcile this with his believing Stephen to be the infallible head of the church, may reconcile the Gospel with the Coran.

"Yet I can by no means approve the scurrility and contempt with which the Romanists have often been treated. I dare not rail at, or despise any man; much less those who profess to believe in the same master. But I pity them much; having the same assurance, that *Jesus is the Christ,* and that no Romanist can expect to be saved, according to the terms of his covenant. For thus saith our Lord, *Whosoever shall break one of the least of these commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of Heaven.* And *if any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book.* But all Romanists, as such, do both. Ergo——

"The minor I prove, not from Protestant authors, or even from particular writers of their own communion, but from the public, authentic records of the church of Rome. Such are 'The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent.' And the edition I use was printed at Colen, and approved by authority.

"And first, All Romanists, as such, do break and teach men to break, one, and not the least, of those commandments: the words of which, concerning images, are these:

לא תשתחוה להם

Now שחה, as every smatterer in Hebrew knows, is *incurvare se,* * *Procumbere, honoris exhibendi causâ,* and is

* To bow down before any one, in token of honouring him.

accordingly rendered by the Seventy in this very place, by a Greek word of the very same import, προσκυνεῖν. But the Council of Trent, (and consequently all Romanists, as such, all who allow the authority of that council), teaches, sect. 25, parag. 2, That it is * *Legitimus Imaginum Usus —eis honorem exhibere*, procumbendo coram eis.

"Secondly, All Romanists, as such, do add to those things which are written in the Book of Life. For in the bull of Pius IV., subjoined to those Canons and Decrees, I find all the additions following:

"1. Seven Sacraments; 2. Transubstantiation; 3. Communion in one kind only; 4. Purgatory, and praying for the dead therein; 5. Praying to saints; 6. Veneration of Reliques; 7. Worship of images; 8. Indulgences; 9. The priority and universality of the Roman church; 10. The supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. All these things, therefore, do the Romanists add to those which are written in the Book of Life.

"I am, &c."

Tuesday 28, My mouth was opened, and my heart enlarged, strongly to declare to above two thousand people at Bradford, That *the kingdom of God* (within us) *is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy, in the Holy Ghost.* At Bath, I once more offered *Christ to justify the ungodly.* In the evening, I met my brother, just come from London. *The Lord hath* indeed *done great things for us already. Not unto us, but unto thy name be the praise.*

Wednesday 29, I rode with my brother to Wells, and preached on, *What must I do to be saved?* In the evening I summed up at the New-room, what I had said at many times, from the beginning of faith, holiness, and good works, as the root, the tree, and the fruit, which God had joined, and man ought not to put asunder.

Friday, August 31, I left Bristol, and reached London

* i. e. The proper use of images is, To honour them, by bowing down before them.

about eight on Sunday morning. In the afternoon I heard a sermon wherein it was asserted, That our repentance was not sincere, but feigned and hypocritical, 1. If we relapsed into sin, *soon after* repenting: especially if, 2. We did not *avoid all occasions* of sin, or if, 3. We *relapsed frequently;* and most of all, if, 4. Our hearts were *hardened* thereby. O what a hypocrite have I been (if this be so) for near twice ten years! But I know it is not so. I know every one *under the law*, is even as I was. Every one when he begins to see his fallen state, and to feel the wrath of God abiding on him, relapses into the sin that most easily besets him, soon after repenting of it. Sometimes he avoids, and at many other times cannot persuade himself to *avoid the occasions* of it. Hence his relapses are *frequent*, and of consequence his *heart is hardened* more and more. And yet all this time, he is *sincerely* striving against sin. He can say, *unfeignedly without hypocrisy, The thing which I do, I approve not; the evil which I would not, that I do. To will is* even then *present with* him; *but how to perform that which is good he finds not.* Nor can he, with all his *sincerity* avoid any one of these four marks of hypocrisy, till, *being justified by faith, he hath peace with God, thro' Jesus Christ our Lord.*

This helpless state I took occasion to describe at Kennington, to eight or ten thousand people, from those words of the psalmist, *Innumerable troubles are come about me; my sins have taken such hold upon me, that I am not able to look up; yea, they are more in number than the hairs of my head, and my heart hath failed me.*

Monday, Sept. 3, I talked largely with my mother, who told me, that till a short time since she had scarce heard such a thing mentioned as the having forgiveness of sins, or God's Spirit bearing witness with our spirit: much less did she imagine that this was the common privilege of all true believers. "Therefore (said she) I never durst ask for it myself. But two or three weeks ago, while my son Hall was pronouncing those words, in delivering the cup to me, *The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for*

thee; The words struck through my heart, and I knew God for Christ's sake had forgiven *me* all *my* sins.

I asked whether her father, Dr. Annesley, had not the same faith? and whether she had not heard him preach it explicitly to others? She answered, "He had it himself, and declared a little before his death, that for more than forty years he had no darkness, no fear, no doubt at all, of his being *accepted in the Beloved.* But that, nevertheless, she did not remember to have heard him preach, no not once, explicitly upon it: whence she supposed he also looked upon it as the peculiar blessing of a few, not as promised to all the people of God."

Both at Mr. B—'s at six, and at Dowgate-hill at eight, were many more than the houses could contain. Several persons who were then convinced of sin, came to me the next morning. One came also, who had been mourning long, and earnestly desired us, to pray with her. We had scarce begun, when the enemy began to tear her, so that she screamed out as in the pangs of death. But his time was short; for within a quarter of an hour, she was full of the peace that passeth all understanding.

I afterwards called on Mrs. E——r, with whom was one lately come from Bristol, in deep anguish of spirit. We cried to God, and he soon declared his salvation, so that both their mouths were filled with his praise.

Thence I went to a poor woman, who had been long in despair. I was glad to meet with Mrs. R—— there; the person mentioned in Mr. Whitefield's Journal, who, after three years' madness (so called) was so deeply convinced of sin at Beach-lane, and soon after rejoiced in God her Saviour.

Thursday 6, I was sent for by one who began to feel herself a sinner. But a fine lady unexpectedly coming in, there was scarce room for *me* to speak. The fourth person in the company was a poor unbred girl; who beginning to tell what God had done for her soul, the others looked one at another, as in amaze, but did not open their mouths. I then exhorted them not to cease from crying to God till they

too could say as she did, "My Beloved is mine, and I am his: I am as sure of it, as that I am alive. For his Spirit bears witness with my spirit that I am a child of God."

Sunday 9, I declared to about ten thousand in Moorfields, what they must do to be saved. My mother went with us about five to Kennington, where were supposed to be twenty thousand people. I again insisted on that foundation of all our hope, *Believe in the Lord Jesus and thou shalt be saved.* From Kennington I went to a society at Lambeth. The house being filled, the rest stood in the garden. The deep attention they shewed gave me a good hope that they will not all be forgetful hearers.

Thence I went to our society at Fetter-lane, and exhorted them to love one another. The want of love was a general complaint. We laid it open before our Lord. We soon found he had sent us an answer of peace. Evil surmisings vanished away. The flame kindled again as at the first, and our hearts were knit together.

Monday 10, I accepted a pressing invitation to go to Plaistow. At five in the evening I expounded there, and at eight again. But most of the hearers were very quiet and unconcerned. In the morning therefore I spoke stronger words. But it is only the voice of the Son of God, which is able to wake the dead.

Wednesday 12, In the evening at Fetter-lane I described the life of faith, and many who had fancied themselves strong therein, found they were no more than new-born babes. At eight I exhorted our brethren to keep close to the Church, and to all the ordinances of God, and to aim only at living *a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.*

Thursday 13, A serious clergyman desired to know in what points we differed from the Church of England? I answered, "To the best of my knowledge, in none: the doctrines we preach are the doctrines of the Church of England; indeed the fundamental doctrines of the Church, clearly laid down, both in her Prayers, Articles, and Homilies."

He asked, "In what points then do you differ from the other clergy of the Church of England?" I answered, "In none from that part of the clergy who adhere to the doctrines of the Church; but from that part of the clergy who dissent from the Church (though they own it not) I differ in the points following:

First, They speak of justification, either as the same thing with sanctification, or as something consequent upon it. I believe justification to be wholly distinct from sanctification, and necessarily antecedent to it.

Secondly, They speak of our own holiness or good works as the cause of our justification; or, that *for the sake of which, on account of which*, we are justified before God. I believe, neither our own holiness nor good works are any part of the cause of our justification; but that the death and righteousness of Christ, are the whole and sole cause of it; or, that *for the sake of which, on account of which*, we are justified before God.

Thirdly, They speak of good works as a *condition* of justification, necessarily previous to it. I believe, no good work can be previous to justification, nor consequently a condition of it: but that we are justified (being till that hour ungodly, and therefore incapable of doing any good work) by faith alone; faith, without works; faith, though producing all, yet including no good works.

Fourthly, They speak of sanctification, or holiness, as if it were an outward thing; as if it consisted chiefly, if not wholly, in these two points: 1. The doing no harm; 2. The doing good, as it is called, *i. e.* The using the means of grace, and helping our neighbour.

I believe it to be, an inward thing; namely, *The life of God in the soul of man; a participation of the Divine nature; the mind that was in Christ;* or, *the renewal of our heart after the image of him that created us.*

Lastly, They speak of the new birth as an outward thing, as if it were no more than baptism; or, at most, a change from outward wickedness to outward goodness; from vicious, to what is called a virtuous life. I believe it to be an

inward thing; a change from inward wickedness to inward goodness; an entire change of our inmost nature from the image of the devil, wherein we are born, to the image of God; a change from the love of the creature to the love of the Creator, from earthly and sensual to heavenly and holy affections: in a word, a change from the tempers of the spirits of darkness, to those of the angels of God in heaven.

There is therefore a wide, essential, fundamental, irreconcilable difference between us: So that if they speak the truth as it is in Jesus, I am found a false witness before God. But if I teach the way of God in truth, they are blind leaders of the blind.

Sunday 16, I preached at Moor-fields to about ten thousand, and at Kennington-Common to, I believe, near twenty thousand, on those words of the calmer Jews to St. Paul, *We desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest; for as concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against.* At both places I described the real difference between what is generally called Christianity, and the true Old Christianity, which, under the new name of Methodism, is now also every where spoken against.

Monday 17, I preached again at Plaistow, on *Blessed are those that mourn.* It pleased God to give us in that hour, two living instances of that piercing sense both of the guilt and power of sin, that dread of the wrath of God, and that full conviction of man's inability either to remove the power, or atone for the guilt of sin (called by the world despair) in which properly consist that poverty of spirit and mourning which are the gate of Christian blessedness.

Tuesday 18, A young woman came to us at Islington, in such an agony as I have seldom seen. Her sorrow and fear were too big for utterance; so that after a few words, her strength as well as her heart failing, she sunk down to the ground. Only her sighs and groans shewed she was yet alive. We cried unto God in her behalf. We claimed the promises made to the weary and heavy-laden; and he did not cast out our prayer. She saw her Saviour, as it

were crucified before her eyes. She laid hold on him by faith, and her spirit revived.

At Mr. B—'s at six, I was enabled earnestly to call all the weary and heavy laden: and at Mr. C——'s at eight, when many roared aloud; some of whom utterly refused to be comforted, till they should feel their souls at rest in the Blood of the Lamb, and have his love shed abroad in their hearts.

Thursday 20, Mrs. C—— being in deep heaviness, had desired me to meet her this afternoon. She had long earnestly desired to receive the Holy Communion, having an unaccountably strong persuasion, that God would manifest himself to her therein, and give rest to her soul; but her heaviness being now greatly increased, Mr. D——e gave her that fatal advice, "Not to communicate till she had living faith." This still added to her perplexity. Yet at length she resolved to obey God rather than man; and *he was made known unto her in the breaking of bread.* In that moment she felt her load removed, she knew she was accepted in the Beloved; and all the time I was expounding at Mr. B—'s, was full of that peace which cannot be uttered.

Friday 21, Another of Dr. Monro's patients came to desire my advice. I found no reason to believe she had been any otherwise mad than every one is, who is deeply convinced of sin. And I cannot doubt, but if she will trust in the living God, he will give medicine to heal her sickness.

Sunday 23, I declared to about ten thousand in Moorfields, with great enlargement of spirit, *The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.* At Kennington I enforced to about twenty thousand, that great truth, *One thing is needful.* Thence I went to Lambeth, and shewed (to the amazement, it seemed, of many who were present) how *he that is born of God doth not commit sin.*

Monday 24, I preached once more at Plaistow, and took my leave of the people of that place. In my return, a person galloping swiftly, rode full against me, and overthrew

both man and horse: but without any hurt to either. Glory be to Him who saves both man and beast!

Tuesday 25, After dining with one of our brethren who was married this day, I went, as usual, to the society at St. James's, weary and weak in body. But God strengthened me for his own work; as He did at six at Mr. B—'s; and at eight in Winchester-yard, where it was believed were present eleven or twelve hundred persons: to whom I declared, if they had nothing to pay, God would frankly forgive them all.

Thursday 27, I went in the afternoon to a Society at Deptford, and thence at six came to Turner's-hall; which holds, by computation, two thousand persons. The press both within and without was very great. In the beginning of the expounding, there being a large vault beneath, the main beam which supported the floor, broke. The floor immediately sunk, which occasioned much noise and confusion among the people. But, two or three days before a man had filled the vault with hogsheads of tobacco. So that the floor, after sinking a foot or two, rested upon them, and I went on without interruption.

Friday 28, I met with a fresh proof, That *whatsoever ye shall ask, believing, ye shall receive.* A middle aged woman desired me to return thanks for her to God, who as many witnesses then present testified, was a day or two before really distracted, and as such tied down in her bed. But upon prayer being made for her, she was instantly relieved, and restored to a sound mind.

Monday October 1, I rode to Oxford; and found a few who had not yet forsaken the assembling themselves together. To whom I explained, that *holiness without which no man shall see the Lord.*

Tuesday 2, I went to many, who once heard the word with joy; but when the sun arose, the seed withered away. Yet some still desired to follow their Lord. But the world stood fawning or threatening between them. In the evening I shewed them the tender mercies of God, and his readiness still to receive them. The tears ran down many of their

cheeks. O Thou lover of souls, seek and save that which is lost!

Wednesday 3, I had a little leisure to take a view of the shattered condition of things here. The poor prisoners both in the Castle and in the City Prison, had now none that cared for their souls, none to instruct, advise, comfort, and build them up in the knowledge and love of the Lord Jesus. None were left to visit the work-houses, where also we used to meet with the most moving objects of compassion. Our little school, where about twenty poor children, at a time, had been taught for many years, was on the point of being broke up; there being none now, either to support, or to attend it. And most of those in the town, who were once knit together, and strengthened one another's hands in God, were torn asunder and scattered abroad. *It is time for thee, O Lord, to lay to Thy hand!*

At eleven, a little company of us met to intreat God, for the remnant that was left. He immediately gave us a token for good. One who had been long in the gall of bitterness, full of wrath, strife, and envy, particularly against one whom she had once tenderly loved, rose up and shewed the change God had wrought in her soul, by falling upon her neck, and with many tears kissing her. The same spirit we found reviving in others also; so that we left them, not without hope, that the seed which had been sown even here, *shall take root downward, and bear fruit upward.*

About six in the evening I came to Burford: and at seven preached to, it was judged, twelve or fifteen hundred people, on, *Christ made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.* Finding many *approved* of what they had heard, that they might not *rest in that approbation*, I explained, an hour or two after, the holiness of a Christian: and in the morning I shewed the way to this holiness, by giving both the false and the true answer to that important question, *What must I do to be saved?*

About three in the afternoon, I came to Mr. Benjamin

Seward's, at Bengeworth, near Evesham. At five I expounded in his house, part of the xiiith chapter of the First of Corinthians, and at seven in the School-house, where I invited all who had nothing to pay, to come and accept of free forgiveness. In the morning I preached near Mr. Seward's house, to a small serious congregation, on those words, *I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.*

In the evening I reached Gloucester. Saturday 6, At five in the evening I explained to about a thousand people, the nature, the cause, and the condition or instrument of justification, from these words, *To him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted to him for righteousness.*

Sunday 7, A few, I trust, out of two or three thousand, were awakened by the explanation of those words, *God hath not given unto you the spirit of bondage again to fear; but he hath given unto you the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.* About eleven I preached at Runwick, seven miles from Gloucester. The church was much crowded, though a thousand or upwards, stayed in the church-yard. In the afternoon I explained further the same words, *What must I do to be saved?* I believe some thousands were then present, more than had been in the morning. O what a harvest is here! When will it please our Lord, to send more labourers into his harvest?

Between five and six I called on all who were present (about three thousand) at Stanley, on a little green near the town, to accept of Christ, as their only *wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.* I was strengthened to speak as I never did before, and continued speaking near two hours: the darkness of the night, and a little lightning not lessening the number, but increasing the seriousness of the hearers. I concluded the day by expounding part of our Lord's sermon on the Mount, to a small serious company at Ebly.

Monday 8, About eight I reached Hampton-common, nine or ten miles from Gloucester. There were, it was

computed, five or six thousand persons. I exhorted them all, to come unto God, as having nothing to pay. I could gladly have stayed longer with this loving people: but I was now straitened for time. After sermon I therefore hastened away, and in the evening came to Bristol.

Tuesday 9, My brother and I rode to Bradford. Finding there had been a general misrepresentation of his last sermon, as if he had asserted reprobation therein, whereby many were greatly offended, he was constrained to explain himself on that head, and to shew in plain and strong words, that *God willeth all men to be saved.* Some were equally offended at this. But whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear; we may not shun to declare unto them, all the counsel of God.

At our return in the evening not being permitted to meet at Weavers'-hall, we met in a large room on Temple-backs, where (having gone through the sermon on the Mount, and the Epistles of St. John) I began that of St. James, that those who had already learned the true nature of inward holiness, might be more fully instructed in outward holiness, without which also we cannot see the Lord.

Wednesday 10, Finding many to be in heaviness, whom I had left full of peace and joy, I exhorted them at Baptist-mills, to *look unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith.* We poured out our complaint before Him in the evening, and found that He was again with us of a truth. One came to us soon after I was gone home, who was still in grievous darkness. But we commended her cause to God, and he immediately restored the light of his countenance.

Thursday 11, We were comforted by the coming in of one, who was a notorious drunkard and a common swearer. But he is washed, and old things are passed away. *Such power belongeth unto God.* In the evening our Lord rose on many who were wounded, *with healing in his wings:* and others who until then were careless and at ease, felt the two-edged sword that cometh out of his mouth.

One of these shewed the agony of her soul by crying

aloud to God for help, to the great offence of many, who eagerly rebuked her that she should hold her peace. She continued in great torment all night, finding no rest either of soul or body. But while a few were praying for her in the morning, God delivered her out of her distress.

Friday 12, We had fresh occasion to observe the darkness which was fallen on many who had lately rejoiced in God. But He did not long hide his face from them. On Wednesday the spirit of many revived: on Thursday evening many more found Him in whom they had believed, to be *a present help in time of trouble.* And never do I remember the power of God to have been more eminently present than this morning: when a cloud of witnesses declared his *breaking the gates of brass, and smiting the bars of iron in sunder.*

Yet I could not but be under some concern, with regard to one or two persons, who were tormented in an unaccountable manner, and seemed to be indeed lunatic as well as sore vexed. But while I was musing, what would be the issue of these things, the answer I received from the word of God was, *Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men.*

Soon after, I was sent for to one of those, who was so strangely torn by the devil, that I almost wondered her relations did not say, "Much religion hath made thee mad." We prayed God to bruise Satan under her feet. Immediately we had the petition we asked of Him. She cried out vehemently, "He is gone, he is gone!" And was filled with the spirit of love and of a sound mind. I have seen her many times since, strong in the Lord. When I asked abruptly, "What do you desire now?" She answered, "Heaven." I asked, "What is in your heart?" she replied, "God." I asked, "But how is your heart when any thing provokes you?" She said, "By the grace of God, I am not provoked at any thing. All the things of this world pass by me as shadows." *Ye have seen the*

end of the Lord. Is He not very pitiful and of tender mercy?

We had a refreshing meeting at one, with many of our society, who fail not to observe as health permits, the weekly fast of our church, and will do so by God's help, as long as they call themselves members of it. And would to God, all who contend for the rites and ceremonies of the church, perhaps with more zeal than meekness of wisdom, would first shew their own regard for her discipline, in this more important branch of it!

At four I preached near the Fish-ponds, at the desire of one who had long laboured under the apprehension of it, on the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost; that is according to the plain scriptural account, *The openly and maliciously asserting, that the miracles of Christ were wrought by the power of the devil.*

Saturday 13, I was with one, who being in deep anguish of spirit, had been the day before to ask a clergyman's advice. He told her, "Her head was out of order, and she must go and take physic." In the evening we called upon God for medicine, to heal those that were *broken in heart.* And five who had long been in the shadow of death, *knew they were passed from death unto life.*

The sharp frost in the morning, Sunday 14, did not prevent about fifteen hundred, from being at Hannam, to whom I called, in the words of our gracious Master, *Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* In the evening we claimed and received the promise, for several who were *weary and heavy laden.*

Monday 15, Upon a pressing invitation, some time since received, I set out for Wales. About four in the afternoon, I preached on a little green, at the foot of the Devauden, a high hill, two or three miles beyond Chepstow, to three or four hundred plain people, on, *Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.* After sermon, one who I trust is an old disciple of Christ, willingly received us into his house: whither many following, I

shewed them their need of a Saviour, from these words, *Blessed are the poor in spirit.* In the morning I described more fully the way to salvation, *Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved:* and then taking leave of my friendly host, before two, came to Abergavenny.

I felt in myself a strong aversion to preaching here. However I went to Mr. W—— (the person in whose ground Mr. Whitefield preached) to desire the use of it. He said "With all his heart——if the minister was not willing to let me have the use of the church:" after whose refusal (for I wrote a line to him immediately) he invited me to his house. About a thousand people stood patiently (though the frost was sharp, it being after sun set) while from Acts xxviii. 22, I simply described the plain, old religion of the Church of England, which is now almost every where spoken against, under the new name of Methodism. An hour after, I explained it a little more fully, in a neighbouring house, shewing how God *hath exalted Jesus to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance and remission of sins.*

Wednesday 17, The frost was sharper than before. However five or six hundred people stayed, while I explained the nature of that salvation which is through faith, yea, faith alone: and the nature of that living faith, through which cometh this salvation. About noon I came to Usk, where I preached to a small company of poor people, on those words, *The Son of man is come, to save that which is lost.* One grey headed man wept and trembled exceedingly: and another who was there (I have since heard) as well as two or three who were at the Devauden, are gone quite distracted: that is, they mourn and refuse to be comforted, till they *have redemption through his blood.*

When I came to Ponty-pool in the afternoon, being unable to procure any more convenient place, I stood in the street, and cried aloud to five or six hundred attentive hearers, To *believe in the Lord Jesus, that they might be saved.* In the evening I shewed his willingness to save, all who desire to come unto God through Him. Many were

melted into tears. It may be, that some will *bring forth fruit with patience.*

Thursday 18, I endeavoured to cut them off from all false supports and vain dependencies, by explaining and applying that fundamental truth, *To him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted to him for righteousness.*

When we were at the Devauden on Monday, a poor woman who lived six miles off, came thither in great heaviness She was deeply convinced of sin, and weary of it; but found no way to escape from it. She walked from thence to Abergavenny on Tuesday, and on Wednesday from Abergavenny to Usk. Thence in the afternoon she came to Ponty-pool; where between twelve and one in the morning, after a sharp contest in her soul, our Lord got unto himself the victory: and the love of God was shed abroad in her heart, testifying that her sins were forgiven her. She went on her way rejoicing to Cardiff; whither I came in the afternoon. And about five, (the minister not being willing I should preach in the church on a week-day) I preached in the Shire-hall, (a large convenient place) on, *Believe and thou shalt be saved.* Several were there who laboured much to make a disturbance. But our Lord suffered them not. At seven I explained to a much more numerous audience, the blessedness of mourning and poverty of spirit. Deep attention sat on the faces of the hearers: many of whom, I trust, have believed our report.

Friday 19, I preached in the morning at Newport, on, *What must I do to be saved?* to the most insensible, ill-behaved people I have ever seen in Wales. One antient man, during a great part of the sermon, cursed and swore almost incessantly: and towards the conclusion took up a great stone, which he many times attempted to throw. But that he could not do.——Such the champions! Such the arms against field-preaching!

At four I preached at the Shire-hall of Cardiff again, where many gentry, I found, were present. Such freedom of speech I have seldom had, as was given me in explaining

those words, *The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.* At six almost the whole town, I was informed, came together, to whom I explained the six last beatitudes, but my heart was so enlarged, I knew not how to give over, so that we continued there three hours. O may the seed they have received, have its fruit unto holiness, and in the end, everlasting life!

Saturday 20, I returned to Bristol. I have seen no part of England so pleasant for sixty or seventy miles together, as those parts of Wales I have been in. And most of the inhabitants are indeed ripe for the Gospel. I mean (if the expression appear strange) they are earnestly desirous of being instructed in it: and as utterly ignorant of it they are, as any Creek or Cherikee Indian. I do not mean they are ignorant of the name of Christ. Many of them can say both the Lord's Prayer and the Belief. Nay, and some, all the Catechism: but take them out of the road of what they have learned by rote, and they know no more (nine in ten of those with whom I conversed) either of Gospel salvation or of that faith, whereby alone we can be saved, than Chicali or Tomo Chachi. Now what spirit is he of, who had rather these poor creatures should perish for lack of knowledge, than that they should be saved, even by the exhortations of Howell Harris or an itinerant preacher?

Finding a slackness creeping in among them who had begun to run well, on Sunday 21, both in the morning and afternoon, I enforced these words, *As ye have received the Lord Jesus Christ, so walk ye in him.* In the evening I endeavoured to quicken them farther, by describing pure and undefiled religion: and the next day, to encourage them in pursuing it, by enforcing those words of our blessed master, *In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer: I have overcome the world.*

Tuesday 23, In riding to Bradford, I read over Mr. Law's book on the New Birth: philosophical, speculative, precarious; Behmenish, void and vain!

O what a fall is there!

At eleven I preached at Bearfield to about three thousand, on the spirit of nature, of bondage, and of adoption.

Returning in the evening, I was exceedingly pressed to go back to a young woman in Kingswood. The fact I nakedly relate, and leave every man to his own judgment of it. I went. She was nineteen or twenty years old, but, it seems, could not write or read. I found her on the bed, two or three persons holding her. It was a terrible sight. Anguish, horror, and despair, above all description, appeared in her pale face. The thousand distortions of her whole body shewed, how the dogs of hell were gnawing her heart. The shrieks intermixed were scarce to be endured. But her stony eyes could not weep. She screamed out, as soon as words could find their way, "I am damned, damned; lost for ever. Six days ago you might have helped me. But it is past. I am the devil's now. I have given myself unto him. His I am. Him I must serve. With him I must go to hell. I will be his. I will serve him. I will go with him to hell. I cannot be saved. I will not be saved. I must, I will, I will be damned." She then began praying to the devil. We began

"Arm of the Lord, awake, awake!"

She immediately sunk down as asleep: but as soon as we left off, broke out again, with unexpressible vehemence.

"Stony hearts, break! I am a warning to you. Break, break, poor, stony hearts! Will not you break? What can be done more for stony hearts? I am damned, that you may be saved. Now break, now break, poor, stony hearts! You need not be damned, though I must." She then fixed her eyes on the corner of the cieling and said, "There he is; ay, there he is, come, good devil, come. Take me away. You said, you would dash my brains out. Come, do it quickly. I am your's. I will be your's. Come just now. Take me away." We interrupted her by calling again upon God; on which she sunk down as before: and another young woman began to roar out aloud as she had done. My brother now came in, it being about nine o'clock. We continued in prayer till past eleven: when

God in a moment spoke peace into the soul, first of the tormented, and then of the other. And they both joined in singing praise to Him, who had stilled the enemy and the avenger.

Wednesday 24, I preached at Baptist-mills on those words of St. Paul, speaking in the person of one under the law; (that is, still carnal, and sold under sin, though groaning for deliverance) *I know that in me dwelleth no good thing*. A poor woman told me afterwards, "I does hope as my husband wont hinder me any more. For I minded he did shiver every bone of him, and the tears ran down his cheeks like the rain." I warned our little society in the evening, to beware of levity, slackness in good works, and despising little things; which had caused many to fall again into bondage.

Thursday 25, I was sent for to one in Bristol, who was taken ill the evening before. This fact too I will simply relate, so far as I was an ear, or eye-witness of it. She lay on the ground, furiously gnashing her teeth, and after a while roared aloud. It was not easy for three or four persons to hold her, especially when the name of Jesus was named. We prayed; the violence of her symptoms ceased, though without a complete deliverance.

In the evening, being sent for to her again, I was unwilling, indeed afraid to go; thinking it would not avail, unless some who were strong in faith, were to wrestle with God for her. I opened my Testament on those words, *I was afraid, and went and hid thy talent in the earth*. I stood reproved, and went immediately. She began screaming before I came into the room; then broke out into a horrid laughter, mixed with blasphemy, grievous to hear. One who, from many circumstances, apprehended a preternatural agent to be concerned in this, asking, "How didst thou dare to enter into a Christian?" was answered, "She is not a Christian; she is mine." *Q.* "Dost thou not tremble at the name of Jesus?" No words followed; but she shrunk back, and trembled exceedingly. *Q.* "Art thou not increasing thy own damnation?" It was faintly an-

swered, "Ay, ay:" Which was followed by fresh cursing and blaspheming.

My brother coming in, she cried out, "Preacher! field-preacher! I don't love field-preaching." This was repeated two hours together, with spitting and all the expressions of strong aversion.

We left her at twelve, but called again about noon, on Friday 26. And now it was that God shewed he heareth prayer. All her pangs ceased in a moment. She was filled with peace, and knew that the son of wickedness was departed from her.

Saturday 27, I was sent for to Kinswood again, to one of those who had been so ill before. A violent rain began just as I set out, so that I was thoroughly wet in a few minutes. Just at that time, the woman (then three miles off) cried out, "Yonder comes Wesley, galloping as fast as he can." When I was come, I was quite cold and dead, and fitter for sleep than prayer. She burst out into a horrid laughter, and said, "No power, no power; no faith, no faith. She is mine. Her soul is mine. Her soul is mine. I have her, and will not let her go."

We begg'd of God to increase our faith. Mean while her pangs increased more and more: so that one would have imagined, by the violence of the throes, her body must have been shattered to pieces. One who was clearly convinced this was no natural disorder, said, "I think, Satan is let loose. I fear, he will not stop here;" and added, "I command thee, in the name of the Lord Jesus, to tell if thou hast commission to torment any other soul?" It was immediately answered, "I have: L—y C—r and S—h J——s." (Two who lived at some distance, and were then in perfect health.)

We betook ourselves to prayer again, and ceased not till she began about six o'clock, with a clear voice, and composed, cheerful look,

"Praise God, from whom all blessings flow!"

Sunday 28, I preached once more at Bradford at one in the afternoon. Notwithstanding the violent rains, more

I believe than 10,000 earnestly attended to what I spoke on those solemn words, *I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men. For I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God.*

Returning in the evening, I called at Mrs. J—'s in Kingswood. S—y J—s and L—y C—r were there. It was scarce a quarter of an hour, before L—y C—r fell into a strange agony, and presently after, S—y J—s. The violent convulsions all over their bodies, were such as words cannot describe. Their cries and groans were too horrid to be borne; till one of them in a tone not to be expressed, said, "Where is your faith now? Come, go to prayers. I will pray with you. *Our Father which art in heaven.*" We took the advice, from whomsoever it came, and poured our souls before God, till L—y C——r's agonies so increased, that it seemed she was in the pangs of death. But in a moment God spoke; she knew his voice, and both her body and soul were healed.

We continued in prayer till near one, when S— J——'s voice was also changed, and she began strongly to call upon God. This she did for the greatest part of the night. In the morning we renewed our prayers, while she was crying continually, "I burn, I burn; O what shall I do? I have a fire within me. I cannot bear it. Lord Jesus! Help!" Amen, Lord Jesus! When thy time is come.

Wednesday 31, I strongly inforced on those who imagine they believe and do not; *As the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also.* The power of God was in an unusual manner present at the meeting of the bands in the evening. Six or seven were deeply convinced of their unfaithfulness to God, and two filled again with his love. But poor M— W—— remained as one without hope. Her soul refused comfort. She could neither pray herself nor bear to hear us. At last she cried out, "Give me the book and I will sing." She began giving out line by line, but with such an accent as art could never reach.

" Why do these cares my soul divide,
If thou indeed hast set me free?
Why am I thus, if God hath died,
If God hath died, to purchase me?
Around me clouds of darkness roll;
In deepest night I still walk on:
Heavily moves my damned soul———"

Here we were obliged to interrupt her: We again betook ourselves to prayer, and her heart was eased, though not set at liberty.

Thursday Nov. 1. I set out and the next evening came to Reading, where a little company of us met in the evening, at which the zealous mob was so enraged, they were ready to tear the house down. Therefore I hope God has a work to do in this place. In thy time let it be fulfilled!

About this time, I received a letter from the author of those reflections which I mentioned July 31. An extract of which I have subjoined:

" REVEREND SIR,

" As I wrote the *Rules* and *Considerations* [in No. 25, of *Country Common-sense*] with an eye to Mr. Whitefield, yourself, and your opposers, from a sincere desire to do some service to Christianity, according to the imperfect notions I had at that time of the real merits of the cause; I at the same time resolved to take any opportunity that should offer for my *better* information.

" On this principle it was that I made one of your audience, Oct. 23, at Bradford. And because I thought I could form the best judgment of you and your doctrines from your sermon, I resolved to hear that first: which was the reason that, although by accident, I was at the same house, and walked two miles with you, to the place you preached at, I spoke little or nothing to you. I must confess, Sir, that the discourse you made that day, wherein you pressed your hearers, in the closest manner, and with the authority of a true minister of the Gospel, not to stop at *faith only*, but to add to it *all virtues*, and to shew forth their *faith* by every kind of *good works*, convinced me of the great wrong done you by a public report, common in

people's mouths, that you preach *faith* without works. For that is the only ground of *prejudice* which any true Christian can have; and is the sense in which your adversaries would take your words, when they censure them. For that we are *justified* by faith *only* is the doctrine of Jesus Christ, the doctrine of his apostles, and the doctrine of the Church of England. I am ashamed that, after having lived twenty-nine years since my baptism into this faith, I should speak of it in the lame, unfaithful, I may false manner I have done in the paper above-mentioned! What meer *darkness* is man, when truth hideth her face from him!

"Man is by nature a sinner, the child of the devil, under God's wrath, in a state of damnation. The Son of God took pity on this our misery: he made himself man, he made himself sin for us: that is, he hath borne the punishment of our sin, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his stripes we are healed. To receive this boundless mercy, this inestimable benefit, we must have faith in our benefactor, and through him in God.—But then, true faith is not a lifeless principle, as your adversaries seem to understand it. They and you mean quite another thing by faith. They mean, a bare believing, that Jesus is the Christ. You mean a living, growing, purifying principle, which is the root both of inward and outward holiness; both of purity and good works; without which no man can have faith, at least no other than a dead faith.

"This, Sir, you explained in your sermon at Bradford, Sunday, Oct. 28, to near ten thousand people, who all stood to hear you with awful silence and great attention. I have since reflected how much good the clergy might do, if, instead of shunning, they would come to hear and converse with you; and in their churches and parishes, would farther inforce those Catholic doctrines which you preach; and which I am glad to see have such a surprising good effect, on great numbers of souls.

"I think indeed, too many clergymen are culpable, in that they do not inform themselves better of Mr. Whitefield,

yourself, and your doctrines, from your own mouths: I am persuaded, if they did this with a Christian spirit, the differences between you would soon be at an end. Nay, I think, those whose flocks resort so much to hear you, ought to do it out of their pastoral duty to them: that if you preach good doctrine, they may edify them, on the impressions so visibly made by your sermons, or if evil, they may reclaim them from error.

"I shall conclude this letter with putting you in mind, in all your sermons, writings, and practices, nakedly to follow the naked Jesus: I mean, to preach the pure doctrine of the Gospel without respect of persons or things. Many preachers, many reformers, many missionaries, have fallen by not observing this; by not having continually in mind, *Whoever shall break the least of these commandments, and teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.*"

END OF VOL. FIRST.

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JOHN JONES, AGENT.

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